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M. T. CICERO

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TO

CHARLES BECK, P. D.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

In the text which has been adopted in this edition, no alterations have been made, except in conforming the orthography of certain words to that of the dictionaries and grammars now generally used in this country, and distinguishing by accents certain equivocal words.

The lines on each page have been numbered, for the more convenient reference to the notes, as well as for the assistance of instructors in exercises of grammatical analysis.

The notes have been prepared solely for the explanation of the difficult pas-

sages which occur in the text. For this purpose, as well as to offer an additional inducement for the pupil to read them, they have been made as brief and simple as possible. It has been thought inexpedient to encumber them with the various readings and critical remarks of commentators, as these are better suited to a more advanced stage in the student's progress.

With this explanation, the editor offers this volume to the public, in the hope that it may afford some assistance in the study of the classics, and that its merits may entitle it to a favorable reception.

C. K. D.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

CATO MAJOR, SEU DE SENECTUTE,

AD

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

I. "O Tite, si quid ego adjûro, curamve levasso,
Quæ nunc te coquit, et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit pretii?"

Licet enim versibus iisdem mihi affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum,

"Ille vir, haud magnâ cum re, sed plenu' fidei;"

quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flamininum,

"Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque."

Novi enim moderationem animi tui, et æquitatem; teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportâsse, sed humanitatem, et prudentiam intelligo. Et tamen suspicor, iisdem rebus te, quibus meipsum, interdum gravius commoveri: quarum consolatio et major est, et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem mihi visum est de Senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. Hoc

enim onere, quod mihi tecum commune est, aut jam urgentis, aut certe adventantis senectutis, et te, et meipsum levari volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, (sicut omnia,) et ferre, et laturum esse, certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de Senectute aliquid vellem scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrûm communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et jucundam senectutem. Nunquam igitur satis laudari digne poterit philosophia, cui qui pareat, omne tempus ætatis sine molestiâ possit degere. Sed de cæteris et diximus multa, et sæpe dicemus: hunc librum de senectute ad te misimus.

Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Chius, (ne parum esset auctoritatis in fabulâ), sed M. Catoni seni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio; apud quem Lælium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, iisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito Græcis literis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? jam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. *Scipio.* Sæpenumero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Lælio, tum cæterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod nunquam senectutem tibi gravem esse senserim: quæ plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Ætnâ gravius dicant sustinere.

Cato. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Læli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil opis est in ipsis ad bene beateque vivendum, iis omnis gravis est ætas: qui autem omnia bona a seipsis petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri, quod naturæ necessitas afferat. Quo in genere in primis est senectus, quam ut adipiscantur, omnes optant: eandem accusant adepti: tanta est inconstantia stultitiæ, atque perversitas.

Obrepere, aiunt, eam citius quam putâssent. Primum, quis coëgit eos falsum putare? quî enim citius adolescentiæ senectus, quam pueritiæ adolescentia, obrepit? Deinde, quî minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent, quam octogesimum? Præterita enim ætas, quamvis longa, cum effluxisset, nullâ consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem.

Quocirca, si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, (quæ utinam digna esset opinione vestrâ, nostroque cognomine!) in hoc sumus sapientes, quod

naturam, optimam ducem, tamquam Deum, sequimur, eique paremus: a quâ, non verisimile est, cum cæteræ partes ætatis bene descriptæ sint, extremum actum, tamquam ab inerti poëtâ, esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum, et, tamquam in arborum baccis, terræque frugibus, maturitate tempestivâ quasi vietum et caducum: quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid enim est aliud, gigantûm modo bellare cum Diis, nisi naturæ repugnare?

Lælius. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, (ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear) feceris, si, quoniam speramus, (volumus quidem certe) senes fieri, ante multo a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem ætatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Læli; præsertim si utrique vestrûm, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Scipio. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam aliquam viam longam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre, quale sit.

III. *Cato.* Faciam, ut potero, Læli. Sæpe enim interfui querelis meorum æqualium, (pares autem cum paribus, veteri proverbio, facillime congregantur,) quæ C. Salinator, quæ Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere æquales, deplorare solebant; tum quod voluptatibus ca-

rerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent; tum quod spernerentur ab iis, a quibus essent coli soliti; qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam, si id culpâ senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu evenirent, reliquisque omnibus majoribus natu: quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querelâ; qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent, nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istiusmodi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in ætate. Moderati enim, et nec difficiles, nec inhumani senes tolerabilem agunt senectutem: importunitas autem, et inhumanitas omni ætati molesta est.

Lælius. Est, ut dicis, Cato. Sed fortasse dixerit quispiam, tibi, propter opes, et copias, et dignitatem tuam, tolerabiliorem senectutem videri; id autem non posse multis contingere.

Cato. Est istuc quidem, Læli, aliquid; sed nequâquam in isto sunt omnia: ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in jurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset, non eum suâ, sed patriæ gloriâ splendorem assecutum; "Nec, hercule," inquit, si ego Seriphius essem, nobilis; nec tu, si Atheniensis esses, clarus unquam fuisses." Quod eodem modo de senectute potest dici. Neque enim in summâ inopiâ levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem; nec insipienti,

etiam in summâ copiâ, non gravis. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Læli, arma senectutis, artes exercitationesque virtutum, quæ in omni ætate cultæ, cum multum diuque vixeris, mirificos efferunt fructus; non solum quia nunquam deserunt, ne in extremo quidem tempore ætatis, (quamquam id maximum est,) verum etiam quia conscientia bene actæ vitæ, multorumque benefactorum recordatio, jucundissima est.

IV. Ego Q. Maximum, (eum qui Tarentum recepit,) adolescens ita dilexi senem, ut æqualem: erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas; nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere cœpi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen jam ætate provectum; anno enim post consul primum fuerat, quam ego natus sum; cumque eo, quartum consule, adolescentulus miles profectus sum ad Capuam, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum quæstor; deinde ædilis, quadriennio post factus sum prætor; quem magistratum gessi, consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex, suasor legis Cinciæ de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat, ut adolescens, cum plane grandis esset; et Hannibalem juveniliter exultantem patientiâ suâ molliebat: de quo præclare familiaris noster Ennius:

"Unus, qui nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem:
Ergo magisque magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

Tarentum vero quâ vigilantiâ, quo consilio, recepit! cum quidem, me audiente, Salinatori, qui, amisso oppido, fugerat in arcem, glorianti, atque ita dicenti: "Meâ operâ, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti:" "Certe," inquit ridens "nam, nisi tu amisisses, nunquam recepissem." Nec vero in armis præstantior, quam in togâ; qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collegâ quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit, agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatûs auctoritatem dividenti. Augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est, optimis auspiciis ea geri, quæ pro reipublicæ salute gererentur; quæ contra rempublicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri. Multa in eo viro præclara cognovi; sed nihil est admirabilius, quam quomodo ille mortem M. filii tulit, clari viri, et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio; quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus; sed intus domique præstantior. Qui sermo! quæ præcepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis! quæ scientia juris augurii! multæ etiam, ut in homine Romano, literæ: omnia memoriâ tenebat, non domestica solum, sed etiam externa

bella; cujus sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi jam divinarem id, quod evenit, illo extincto, fore, unde discerem, neminem.

V. Quorsum igitur hæc tam multa de Maximo? quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu, miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones, aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, triumphosque, recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure, et eleganter actæ ætatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui, uno et octogesimo anno, scribens mortuus est; qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui "*Panathenaïcus*" inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit; vixitque quinquennium postea: cujus magister Leontinus, Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos; neque unquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit: qui, cum ex eo quæreretur, cur tamdiu vellet esse in vitâ; "Nihil habeo," inquit, "quod incusem senectutem." Præclarum responsum, et docto homine dignum! Sua enim vitia insipientes, et suam culpam, in senectutem conferunt: quod non faciebat is, cujus modo mentionem feci, Ennius;

"Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui sæpe supremo
Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectu' quiescit."

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quam quidem probe meminisse potestis: anno enim undevicesimo post ejus mortem, hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'Acilius, facti sunt: ille autem Cæpione, et Philippo iterum, consulibus, mortuus est: cum ego quidem, V et LX annos natus, legem Voconiam voce magnâ, et bonis lateribus, suasissem. Annos LXX natus (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quæ maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis pæne delectari videretur.

Etenim, cum contemplor animo, reperio quatuor causas, cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus: quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta, quamque sit justa unaquæque, videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit? Quibus? an iis, quæ in juventute geruntur, et viribus? Nullæne igitur res sunt seniles, quæ, vel infirmis corporibus, animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? Nihil L. Paullus, pater tuus, Scipio, socer optimi viri, filii mei? cæteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Corun-

canii, cum rempublicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant?

Ad App. Claudii senectutem accedebat etiam, ut cæcus esset: et tamen is, cum sententia senatûs inclinaret ad pacem, et fœdus faciendum cum Pyrrho, non dubitavit dicere illa, quæ versibus persecutus est Ennius:

"Quo vobis mentes, rectæ quæ stare solebant
Antehac, dementes sese flexêre [via]?"

cæteraque gravissime: notum enim vobis carmen est: et tamen ipsius Appii extat oratio: atque hanc ille egit septem et decem annos post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfluxissent, censorque ante consulatum superiorem fuisset. Ex quo intelligitur, Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse: et tamen sic a patribus accepimus.

Nihil igitur afferunt, qui in re gerendâ versari senectutem negant: similesque sunt iis, qui gubernatorem in navigando agere nihil dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant; ille autem, clavum tenens, sedeat in puppi quietus. Non faciat ea, quæ juvenes: at vero multo majora et meliora facit. Non viribus, aut velocitatibus, aut celeritate corporum, res magnæ geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententiâ; quibus non modo non orbari,

sed etiam augeri, senectus solet. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles, et tribunus, et legatus, et consul, versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At senatui, quæ sunt gerenda, præscribo, et quomodo: Carthagini, male jam diu cogitanti, bellum multo ante denuntio; de quâ vereri non ante desinam, quam illam excisam esse cognovero.

Quam palmam utinam Dii immortales tibi, Scipio, reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cujus a morte hic tertius et tricesimus est annus: sed memoriam illius viri excipient omnes anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum, me consule, creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suæ pœniteret? nec enim excursione, nec saltu, nec eminus hastis, aut cominus gladiis uteretur; sed consilio, ratione, sententiâ; quæ nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium majores nostri appellâssent *Senatum*. Apud Lacedæmonios quidem, ii qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur, senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas respublicas ab adolescentibus labefactas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas, reperietis.

" Cedo, quî vestram rempublicam tantam amisistis tam cito?"

sic enim percontantur, ut est in Nævii poëtæ Ludo. Respondentur et alia, et hæc in primis:

" Proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli."

Temeritas est videlicet florentis ætatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut si sis naturâ tardior. Themistocles omnium civium nomina perceperat: num igitur censetis eum, cum ætate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam, et avos: nec, sepulcra legens, vereor (quod aiunt) ne memoriam perdam: his enim ipsis legendis, redeo in memoriam mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senum audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia, quæ curant, meminerunt; vadimonia constituta; qui sibi, quibus ipsi, debeant. Quid jurisconsulti? quid pontifices? quid augures? quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria; nec ea solum

in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vitâ etiam privatâ et quietâ. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragœdias fecit; quod propter studium, cum rem familiarem negligere videretur, a filiis in judicium vocatus est; ut, quemadmodum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum, quasi desipientem, a re familiari removerent judices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam, quam in manibus habebat, et proxime scripserat, Œdipum Coloneum, recitâsse judicibus, quæsîsseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur: quo recitato, sententiis judicum est liberatus.

Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, num Simonidem, num Stesichorum, num (quos ante dixi) Isocratem, Gorgiam, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Zenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum, quem vos etiam Romæ vidistis, Diogenem Stoïcum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an non in omnibus iis studiorum agitatio vitæ æqualis fuit?

Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus, nunquam fere ulla in agro majora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis

fructibus: quamquam in illis minus hoc mirum: nemo enim est tam senex, qui se annum non putet posse vivere: sed iidem elaborant in eis, quæ sciunt nihil omnino ad se pertinere.

"Serit arbores, quæ alteri sæculo prosint,"

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. Nec vero dubitet agricola, quamvis senex, quærenti, cui serat, respondere: "Diis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo hæc a majoribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere."

VIII. Melius Cæcilius de sene alteri sæculo prospiciente, quam illud idem:

"Ædepol, senectus, si nihil quidquam aliud vitii
Apportes tecum, cum advenis; unum id sat est,
Quod, diu vivendo, multa, quæ non vult, videt."

Et multa fortasse, quæ vult: atque in ea quidem, quæ non vult, sæpe etiam adolescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Cæcilius vitiosius:

"Tum equidem in senectâ hoc deputo miserrimum,
Sentire, eâ ætate esse se odiosum alteri."

Jucundum potius, quam odiosum. Ut enim adolescentibus bonâ indole præditis sapientes

senes delectantur, leviorque fit eorum senectus, qui a juventute coluntur et diliguntur; sic adolescentes senum præceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur: nec minus intelligo me vobis, quam vos mihi esse jucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa, et semper agens aliquid et moliens; tale scilicet, quale cujusque studium in superiore vitâ fuit. Quid, quod etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se, quotidie aliquid addiscentem, senem fieri dicit: ut ego feci, qui Græcas literas senex didici; quas quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem et illud (discebant enim fidibus antiqui): sed in literis certe elaboravi.

IX. Ne nunc quidem vires desidero adolescentis, (is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis) non plus, quam, adolescens, tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti; et, quidquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quæ enim vox potest esse contemptior, quam Milonis Crotoniatæ? qui, cum jam senex esset, athletasque se in curriculo exercentes videret, adspexisse

lacertos suos dicitur, illacrymansque dixisse, "At hi quidem jam mortui sunt." Non vero tam isti, quam tu ipse, nugator: neque enim ex te unquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil S. Ælius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus; a quibus jura civibus præscribebantur; quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.

Orator, metuo, ne languescat senectute: est enim munus ejus non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam, nescio quo pacto, in senectute; quod equidem adhuc non amisi: et videtis annos: sed tamen est decorus sermo senis quietus et remissus; facitque persæpe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis compta et mitis oratio. Quod si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni præcipere, et Lælio. Quid enim est jucundius senectute stipatâ studiis juventutis?

An ne eas quidem vires senectuti relinquemus, ut adolescentulos doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse præclarius? Mihi vero Cn. et P. Scipiones, et avi tui duo, L. Æmilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium juvenum fortunati videbantur. Nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires, atque

defecerint: etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adolescentiæ vitiis efficitur sæpius, quam senectutis. Libidinosa etenim et intemperans adolescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti.

Cyrus quidem, apud Xenophontem, eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se unquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adolescentia fuisset Ego L. Metellum memini, puer, (qui, cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio præfuit) ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore ætatis, ut adolescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere: quamquam est id quidem senile, ætatique nostræ conceditur.

X. Videtisne, ut apud Homerum sæpissime Nestor de virtutibus suis prædicet? tertiam enim jam ætatem hominum vivebat: nec erat ei verendum, ne, vera de se prædicans, nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim (ut ait Homerus) ex ejus linguâ melle dulcior fluebat oratio; quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus: et tamen dux ille Græciæ nusquam optat, ut Ajacis similes habeat decem, at ut Nestoris; quod si acciderit, non dubitat, quin brevi Troja sit peritura.

Sed redeo ad me. Quartum annum ago et octogesimum: equidem posse vellem idem gloriari, quod Cyrus: sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico, aut quæstor eodem bello, aut consul in Hispaniâ fuerim, aut quadriennio post, cum, tribunus militaris, depugnavi apud Thermopylas, M'Acilio Glabrione consule: sed tamen (ut vos videtis) non plane me enervavit nec afflixit senectus: non curia vires meas desiderat, non Rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites: nec enim unquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet, mature fieri senem, si diu velis esse senex. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem ante, quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit, cui fuerim occupatus.

At minus habeo virium, quam vestrûm utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Pontii centurionis vires habetis: num idcirco est ille præstantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest, quisque nitatur: næ ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiæ per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum humeris sustineret bovem vivum. Utrum igitur has corporis, an Pythagoræ tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit; cum absit, ne requiras; nisi forte adolescentes pueritiam, pau-

lum ætate progressi adolescentiam, debeant requirere. Cursus est certus ætatis, et una via naturæ, eaque simplex: suaque cuique parti ætatis tempestivitas est data; ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas juvenum, et gravitas jam constantis ætatis, et senectutis maturitas, naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat.

Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus, Masinissa, quæ faciat hodie, nonaginta annos natus: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non adscendere; cum equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit; summam in eo esse corporis siccitatem; itaque exsequi omnia regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia, etiam in senectute, conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Non sunt in senectute vires? Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo, et legibus et institutis, vacat ætas nostra muneribus iis, quæ non possunt sine viribus sustineri: itaque non modo, quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem, cogimur.

At ita multi sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum officii aut omnino vitæ munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis est

vitium, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit! quam tenui, aut nullâ potius valetudine! quod ni ita fuisset, alterum ille exstitisset lumen civitatis: ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi, doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum ne id quidem adolescentes effugere possint? Resistendum, Læli et Scipio, senectuti est; ejusque vitia diligentiâ compensanda sunt. Pugnandum, tamquam contra morbum, sic contra senectutem.

Habenda ratio valetudinis: utendum exercitationibus modicis: tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori soli subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis: nam hæc quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem defatigatione et exercitatione ingravescunt; animi autem exercitando levantur: nam, quos ait Cæcilius "comicos stultos senes," hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quæ vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavæ, somniculosæ senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido, magis est adolescentium, quam senum; nec tamen omnium adolescentium, sed non proborum; sic

ista senilis stultitia (quæ deliratio appellari solet) senum levium est, non omnium.

Quatuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas, Appius regebat, et senex et cæcus: intentum enim animum, tamquam arcum, habebat; nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium, in suos: metuebant servi; verebantur liberi; carum omnes habebant: vigebat in illâ domo patrius mos et disciplina.

Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad extremum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adolescentem, in quo senile aliquid, sic senem, in quo est adolescentis aliquid, probo: quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo nunquam erit. Septimus mihi "Originum" liber est in manibus: omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo: causarum illustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc quam maxime conficio orationes: jus augurum, pontificum, civile tracto: multum etiam Græcis literis utor: Pythagoreorumque more, exercendæ memoriæ gratiâ, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hæ sunt exercitationes ingenii, hæc curricula mentis: in his desudans atque elaborans, corporis vires non magnopere

desidero. Adsum amicis: venio in senatum frequens, ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas; easque tueor animi, non corporis, viribus. Quæ si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus oblectaret meus, ea ipsa cogitantem, quæ jam agere non possem: sed, ut possim, facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intelligitur, quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu ætas senescit*: nec subito frangitur; sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O præclarum munus ætatis, si quidem id aufert nobis, quod est in adolescentiâ vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adolescentes, veterem orationem Archytæ Tarentini, magni in primis et præclari viri; quæ mihi tradita est, cum essem adolescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem, quam corporis voluptatem, hominibus dicebat a naturâ datam; cujus voluptatis avidæ libidines temere et effrenate ad potiundum incitarentur. Hinc patriæ proditiones, hinc rerumpublicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci: nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero, et adulteria, et omne tale

* Buckminster says: "Perhaps the tautology [illegible] the alliteration in Cicero, might [illegible] imitated by a translation [illegible] by a gentle gradation [illegible] — Remarks on [illegible]

flagitium, nullis aliis illecebris excitari, nisi voluptatis. Cumque homini sive natura, sive quis Deus, nihil mente præstabilius dedisset; huic divino muneri ac dono nihil esse tam inimicum, quam voluptatem. Nec enim, libidine dominante, temperantiæ locum esse; neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intelligi posset, fingere animo jubebat, tantâ incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima. Nemini censebat fore dubium, quin tamdiu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi, posset: quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile, tamque pestiferum, quam voluptatem; siquidem ea, cum major esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Hæc cum C. Pontio Samnite (patre ejus, a quo, Caudino prœlio, Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius, consules, superati sunt) locutum Archytam, Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, (qui in amicitiâ populi Romani permanserat) se a majoribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis; quem Tarentum venisse, L. Camillo, Appio Claudio consulibus, reperio.

Quorsum hæc? ut intelligatis, si voluptatem adspernari ratione et sapientiâ non possemus, magnam habendam senectuti gratiam, quæ effi-

ceret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica; ac mentis (ut ita dicam) præstringit oculos; nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus quidem feci, ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem, L. Flamininum, e senatu ejicerem, septem annis postquam consul fuisset: sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul, in Galliâ exoratus in convivio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent, damnati rei capitalis. Hic, Tito, fratre suo, censore, (qui proximus ante me fuerat) elapsus est: mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quæ cum probro privato conjungeret imperii dedecus.

XIII. Sæpe audivi a majoribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audîsse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audîsset a Thessalo Cineâ, esse quemdam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur; eumque dicere, omnia, quæ faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda: quod ex eo audientes, M' Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur; quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M' Curius cum

P. Decio, qui, quinquennio ante eum consulem, se pro republicâ, quarto consulatu, devoverat. Nôrat eundem Fabricius; nôrat Coruncanius; qui, cum ex suâ vitâ, tum ex ejus, quem dico, P. Decii facto, judicabant, esse profecto aliquid naturâ pulchrum atque præclarum, quod suâ sponte peteretur, quodque, spretâ et contemptâ voluptate, optimus quisque sequeretur.

Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magnopere desiderat. Caret epulis, exstructisque mensis, et frequentibus poculis? caret ergo etiam vinolentiâ, et cruditate, et insomniis. Sed, si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam ejus blanditiis non facile obsistimus, (divine enim Plato escam malorum voluptatem appellat, quod eâ videlicet homines capiantur, ut hamo pisces) quanquam immoderatis epulis careat senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duillium, M. filium qui Pœnos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cœnâ senem sæpe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali, et tibicine, quæ sibi, nullo exemplo, privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiæ dabat gloria.

Sed quid ego alios? ad meipsum jam revertar. Primum habui semper sodales: sodalitates autem, me quæstore, constitutæ sunt, sacris Idæis

Magnæ Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice; sed erat quidam fervor ætatis: quâ progrediente, omnia fiunt indies mitiora: neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis, quam cœtu amicorum et sermonibus, metiebar. Bene enim majores nostri accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitæ conjunctionem haberet, *convivium* nominârunt, melius, quam Græci, qui hoc idem tum *compotationem*, tum *concœnationem*, vocant; ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. Ego vero, propter sermonis delectationem, tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum æqualibus solum (qui pauci admodum restant), sed cum vestrâ etiam ætate, atque vobiscum: habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quæ mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cujus est etiam fortasse quidam naturalis modus) non intelligo, ne in istis quidem voluptatibus ipsis, carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant, a majoribus instituta; et is sermo, qui, more majorum, a summo adhibetur in poculis; et pocula, sicut in "Symposio" Xenophontis, minuta, atque rorantia; et refri-

geratio æstate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus: quæ quidem in Sabinis etiam persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum quotidie compleo; quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus.

At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo: sed ne desideratio quidem. Nihil autem molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam, jam affecto ætate, quæreret, ütereturne rebus venereis? "Dii meliora!" inquit: "libenter vero istinc, tamquam a domino agresti ac furioso, profugi." Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum et molestum est fortasse carere: satiatis vero et expletis jucundius est carere, quam frui: quanquam non caret is, qui non desiderat. Ergo hoc non desiderare, dico esse jucundius, quam frui.

Quod si istis ipsis, voluptatibus bona ætas fruitur libentius; primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus: deinde iis, quibus senectus, si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in primâ caveâ spectat; delectatur tamen, etiam qui in ultimâ, sic adolescentia, voluptates prope intuens, magis fortasse lætatur: sed delectatur etiam senectus, procul eas spectans, tantum, quantum sat est.

At illa quanti sunt, animum, tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis,

inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse, secumque (ut dicitur) vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tanquam pabulum studii atque doctrinæ, nihil est otiosâ senectute jucundius. Mori pæne videbamus, in studio dimetiendi cœli atque terræ, C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quoties illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quoties nox oppressit, cum mane cœpisset! quam delectabat eum, defectiones solis et lunæ multo nobis ante prædicere!

Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? quam gaudebat Bello suo Punico Nævius! quam Truculento Plautus! quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium: qui, cum sex annos ante, quam ego natus sum, fabulam docuisset, Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adolescentiam meam processit ætate. Quid de P. Licinii Crassi et pontificii et civilis juris studio loquar? aut de hujus P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnes, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte "Suadæ medullam" dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus, etiam senem! Quæ sunt igitur epularum, aut ludorum, aut scortorum, voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandæ? Atque hæc quidem studia doctrinæ; quæ quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum ætate

crescunt: ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, (ut ante dixi) senescere se, multa indies addiscentem: quâ voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse major.

XV. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector: quæ nec ullâ impediuntur senectute, et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terrâ, quæ nunquam recusat imperium, nec unquam sine usurâ reddit, quod accepit; sed alias minore, plerumque majore, cum fœnore. Quanquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terræ vis ac natura, delectat: quæ, cum gremio mollito ac subacto semen sparsum excepit; primum id occæcatum cohibet (ex quo occatio, quæ hoc efficit, nominata est): deinde, tepefactum vapore et compressu suo, diffundit; et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quæ, nixa fibris stirpium, sensim adolescit, culmoque erecta geniculato, vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emerserit, fundit frugem spici, ordine structam, et contra avium minorum morsus [munitur] vallo aristarum. Quid ego vitium satus, ortus, incrementa, commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meæ senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quæ generantur

e terrâ: quæ ex fici tantulo grano, aut ex acino vinaceo, aut ex cæterarum frugum ac stirpium minutissimis seminibus, tantos truncos ramosque procreat: malleoli, plantæ, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne ea efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quæ naturâ caduca est, et, nisi fulta sit, ad terram fertur; eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis, quasi manibus, quidquid est nacta, complectitur: quam, serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coërcet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis, et in omnes partes nimia fundatur. Itaque, ineunte vere, in iis quæ relicta sunt, exsistit, tanquam ad articulos sarmentorum, ea, quæ gemma dicitur; a quâ oriens uva sese ostendit; quæ, et succo terræ et calore solis augescens, primo est peracerba gustatu; deinde, maturata, dulcescit; vestitaque pampinis, nec modico tepore caret, et nimios solis defendit ardores: quâ quid potest esse, cum fructu lætius, tum adspectu pulchrius? cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura, et ipsa natura, delectat; adminiculorum ordines, capitum jugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorumque, ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio.

Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri, repastinationesque, proferam, quibus fit multo

terra fœcundior? Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi; de quâ doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de culturâ agri scriberet. At Homērus, qui multis (ut mihi videtur) ante sæculis fuit, Laërtem lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum, et eum stercorantem, facit. Nec vero segetibus solum, et pratis, et vineis, et arbustis, res rusticæ lætæ sunt, sed etiam hortis et pomariis; tum pecŭdum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones; quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius.

XVI. Possum persequi multa oblectamenta rerum rusticarum: sed ea ipsa, quæ dixi, fuisse sentio longiora. Ignoscetis autem: nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est naturâ loquacior; ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vitâ M' Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphâsset, consumpsit extremum tempus ætatis: cujus quidem villam ego contemplans, (abest enim non longe a me) admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam, vel temporum disciplinam. Curio, ad focum sedenti, magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati

ab eo sunt: non enim aurum habere, præclarum sibi videri dixit; sed iis, qui haberent aurum, imperare. Poteratne tantus animus non jucundam efficere senectutem?

Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a meipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, et iidem senes: siquidem aranti L. Quintio Cincinnato nuntiatum est, eum dictatorem esse factum: cujus dictatoris jussu, magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Mælium, regnum appetentem, occupatum interemit. A villâ in senatum arcessebantur et Curius et cæteri senes: ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, *viatores* nominati sunt. Num igitur eorum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Meâ quidem sententiâ, haud scio, an ulla beatior esse possit: neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione (quam dixi), et saturitate copiâque omnium rerum, quæ ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam Deorum, pertinent: ut, quoniam hæc quidam desiderant, in gratiam jam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est; villaque tota locuples est: abundat porco, hædo, agno, gallinâ, lacte, caseo, melle. Jam hortum ipsi agricolæ succidiam alteram

appellant: tum conditiora facit hæc supervacanei etiam operis aucupium atque venatio.

Quid de pratorum viriditate, aut arborum ordinibus, aut vinearum olivetorumque specie, dicam? Brevi præcidam. Agro bene culto nil potest esse, nec usu uberius, nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum, non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa ætas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni; aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? Sibi igitur habeant arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam, sibi pilam, sibi natationes et cursus: nobis senibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquant, et tesseras: idipsum [utrum] lubebit; quoniam, sine his, beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt: quos legite, quæso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agricultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuendâ re familiari, qui "Œconomicus" inscribitur! Atque, ut intelligatis, nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, regem Persarum, præstantem ingenio atque imperii gloriâ, cum Lysander Lacedæmonius, vir summæ virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis, eique dona

a sociis attulisset; et cæteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quemdam conseptum agrum, diligenter consitum, ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, et humum subactam atque puram, et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur e floribus; tum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam solertiam ejus, a quo essent illa dimensa atque descripta; et ei Cyrum respondisse: "Atqui ego omnia ista sum dimensus: mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio; multæ etiam istarum arborum meâ manu sunt satæ." Tum Lysandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram, et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: "Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta est."

Hac igitur fortunâ frui licet senibus: nec ætas impedit, quominus et cæterarum rerum, et imprimis agri colendi, studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset actâ jam ætate in agris, eosque coleret: cujus inter primum et sextum consulatum, sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Itaque quantum spatium ætatis majores nostri ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cur-

sus honorum fuit. Atque ejus extrema ætas hoc beatior, quam media, quod auctoritatis plus habebat, laboris vero minus. Apex autem senectutis est auctoritas. Quanta fuit in L. Cæcilio Metello! quanta in Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium unicum: "Plurimæ consentiunt gentes, populi primarium fuisse virum." Notum est carmen, incisum in sepulcro. Jure igitur gravis, cujus de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum P. Crassum, nuper pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio præditum, vidimus? Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar? aut, ut jam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententiâ solum, sed etiam in nutu, residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata præsertim, tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit, quam omnes adolescentiæ voluptates.

XVIII. Sed, in omni oratione, mementote, eam me laudare senectutem, quæ fundamentis adolescentiæ constituta sit: ex quo id efficitur, (quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi) miseram esse senectutem, quæ se oratione defenderet. Non cani, non rugæ, repente auctoritatem arripere possunt: sed honeste acta superior ætas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos.

Hæc enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quæ videntur levia atque communia, salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli: quæ et apud nos, et in aliis civitatibus, ut quæque optime morata, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedæmonium (cujus modo mentionem feci) dicere aiunt solitum, Lacedæmone esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur ætati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quinetiam memoriæ proditum est, cum Athenis, ludis, quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, in magno consessu locum ei a suis civibus nusquam datum: cum autem ad Lacedæmonios accessisset, (qui, legati cum essent, in loco certo consederant) consurrexisse omnes, et senem illum sessum recepisse. Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quemdam, Athenienses scire, quæ recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio præclara: sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque ætate antecedit, ita sententiæ principatum tenet: neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam qui cum imperio sunt, majores natu augures anteponuntur. Quæ sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis præmiis comparandæ? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam

ætatis peregisse, nec, tanquam inexercitati histriones, in extremo actu corruisse.

At sunt morosi, et anxii, et iracundi, et difficiles senes; si quærimus, etiam avari. Sed hæc morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen, et ea vitia quæ dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem justæ, sed quæ probari posse videatur. Contemni se putant, despici, illudi. Præterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est: quæ tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis, et artibus: idque, tum in vitâ, tum in scenâ, intelligi potest ex iis fratribus, qui in "Adelphis" sunt. Quanta in altero duritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet. Ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis ætas, vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam (sicut alia) modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intelligo. Potest enim quidquam esse absurdius, quam, quo minus viæ restat, eo plus viatici quærere?

XIX. Quarta restat causa, quæ maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram ætatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis; quæ certe a senectute non potest longe abesse. O miserum senem, qui, mortem contemnendam esse, in tam longâ ætate non viderit! quæ aut plane negli-

genda est, si omnino exstinguit animum; aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit, ubi sit futurus æternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem, aut beatus etiam, futurus sum?

Quanquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adolescens, cui sit exploratum, se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quinetiam ætas illa multo plures, quam nostra, mortis casus habet. Facilius in morbos incidunt adolescentes; gravius ægrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem: quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim, et ratio, et consilium, in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullæ omnino civitates essent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod illud est crimen senectutis, cum illud videatis cum adolescentiâ esse commune? Sensi ego, cum in optimo filio meo, tum in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus tuis, Scipio, omni ætati mortem esse communem.

At sperat adolescens, diu se victurum; quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius, quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? Senex ne, quod speret quidem, habet. At est eo meliore conditione, quam adolescens; cum id, quod ille spe-

rat, hic jam consecutus est. Ille vult diu vivere: hic diu vixit. Quanquam (o Dii boni!) quid est in hominis vitâ diu? Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessiorum regis ætatem: fuit enim (ut scriptum video) Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum et viginti vixit: sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quidquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit; tunc illud, quod præteriit, effluxit: tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horæ quidem cedunt, et dies, et menses, et anni; nec præteritum tempus unquam revertitur, nec, quid sequatur, sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda est fabula, modo, in quocumque fuerit actu, probetur; neque sapienti usque ad "Plaudite" vivendum.

Breve enim tempus ætatis satis est longum ad bene honesteque vivendum. Sin processeris longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolæ dolent, præteritâ verni temporis suavitate, æstatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tanquam adolescentiam significat, ostenditque fructus futuros: reliqua tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. Fructus autem senectutis est (ut sæpe dixi) ante partorum

bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia vero, quæ secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam, quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adolescentibus, adversante et repugnante naturâ. Itaque adolescentes mori sic mihi videntur, ut cum aquæ multitudine vis flammæ opprimitur; senes autem, sicut suâ sponte, nullâ adhibitâ vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur. Et, quasi poma, ex arboribus, si cruda sunt, vi avelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt; sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas: quæ mihi quidem tam jucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longâ navigatione esse venturus.

XX. Omnium ætatum certus est terminus: senectutis autem nullus certus est terminus: recteque in eâ vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis, et tamen mortem contemnere: ex quo fit, ut animosior etiam senectus sit, quam adolescentia, et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est; cum illi quærenti, quâ tandem spe fretus, sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur, Senectute. Sed vivendi finis est optimus, cum, integrâ mente, cæterisque sensibus, opus ipsa

suum eadem, quæ coagmentavit, natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut ædificium, idem destruit facillime, qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime, quæ conglutinavit, natura dissolvit. Jam omnis conglutinatio recens ægre, inveterata facile, divellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vitæ reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus, nec sine causâ deserendum sit. Vetatque Pythagoras, injussu imperatoris, (id est, Dei) de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Vult (credo) se esse carum suis. Sed haud scio, an melius Ennius:

> "Nemo me lacrymis decoret, neque funera fletu
> Faxit."

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur.

Jam sensus morienti aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, præsertim seni: post mortem quidem, sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adolescentiâ debet esse, mortem ut negligamus: sine quâ meditatione, tranquillo esse animo nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est; et id incertum, an eo ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens, quî poterit animo consistere? De quâ

non ita longâ disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder, non solum L. Brutum, qui in liberandâ patriâ est interfectus; non duo Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt; non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret; non duos Scipiones, qui iter Pœnis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt; non avum tuum, L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegæ in Cannensi ignominiâ temeritatem; non M. Marcellum, cujus interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturæ carere passus est; sed legiones nostras (quod scripsi in "Originibus") in eum sæpe locum profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se nunquam redituras arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adolescentes, et ii quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent?

Omnino (ut mihi quidem videtur) studiorum omnium satietas vitæ facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiæ certa studia: num igitur ea desiderant adolescentes? Sunt et ineuntis adolescentiæ: num ea jam constans requirit ætas, quæ media dicitur? Sunt etiam hujus ætatis: ne ea quidem quæruntur a senectute. Sunt extrema quædam studia senectutis. Ergo, ut superiorum ætatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam se-

nectutis: quod cum evenit, satietas vitæ tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. Equidem non video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere; quod eo melius mihi cernere videor, quo ab eâ propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio, tuque, C. Læli, viros clarissimos, mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quæ est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum su mus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis, et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus cœlestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus, et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinæ naturæ, æternitatique, contrarium. Sed credo, Deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui terras tuerentur, quique, cœlestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo atque constantiâ. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit, ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum, et auctoritas.

Audiebam Pythagoram, Pythagoreosque, incolas pæne nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, nunquam dubitâsse, quin ex universâ mente divinâ delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi præterea, quæ Socrates supremo vitæ die de immortalitate ani-

morum disseruisset, is, qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis judicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, nec principium motûs habeat, quia se ipse moveat; ne finem quidem habiturum esse motûs, quia nunquam se ipse sit relicturus: et, cum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quidquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non possit, non posse interire: magnoque esse argumento, homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod jam pueri, cum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Hæc Plato noster.

XXII. Apud Xenophontem autem, moriens Cyrus major hæc dicit: "Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis; sed eum esse in hoc corpore, ex iis rebus quas gerebam, intelligebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. Nec vero clarorum

virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem nunquam persuaderi potuit, animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere; cum exîssent ex iis, emori: nec vero, tum animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed cum, omni admixtione corporis liberatus, purus et integer esse cœpisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, cæterarum rerum, perspicuum est, quo quæque discedant: abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt; animus autem solus, nec cum adest, nec cum discedit, apparet. Jam vero videtis, nihil esse morti tam simile, quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam. Multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intelligitur, quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si hæc ita sunt, sic me colitote, ut Deum. Sin unâ est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, Deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis." Cyrus quidem hæc moriens. Nos (si placet) nostra videamus.

XXIII. Nemo unquam mihi, Scipio, persua-

debit, aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos, Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem, aut patruum, aut multos præstantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quæ ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent, posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes (ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier) me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiæque suscepturum fuisse, si iisdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset, otiosam ætatem et quietam, sine ullo labore et contentione, traducere? Sed, nescio quomodo, animus, erigens se, posteritatem semper ita prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vitâ, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem gloriæ niteretur.

Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque æquissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur animus is, qui plus cernat et longius, videre, se ad meliora proficisci; ille autem, cujus obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi: neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi; sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi, et legi, et ipse conscripsi. Quo

quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, neque, tanquam Peliam, recoxerit. Quod si quis Deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac ætate repuerascam, et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem: nec vero velim, quasi decurso spatio, ad carceres a calce revocari.

Quid enim habet vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem, aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi, et ii docti, sæpe fecerunt. Neque me vixisse pœnitet; quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem: et ex vitâ ita discedo, tanquam ex hospitio, non tanquam ex domo. Commorandi enim natura diversorium nobis, non habitandi locum, dedit. O præclarum diem, cum ad illud divinum animorum concilium cœtumque proficiscar, cumque ex hac turbâ et colluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim, non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, sed etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate præstantior: cujus a me corpus crematum est; quod contra decuit ab illo meum. Animus vero, non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum; non quod æquo animo ferrem: sed

me ipse consolabar, existimans, non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

His mihi rebus, Scipio, (id enim te cum Lælio admirari solere dixisti) levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam jucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro: nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Sin, mortuus, (ut quidam minuti philosophi censent) nihil sentiam; non vereor, ne hunc errorem meum mortui philosophi irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi, modum. Senectus autem peractio ætatis est, tanquam fabulæ; cujus defatigationem fugere debemus, præsertim adjunctâ satietate.

Hæc habui, de senectute quæ dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis! ut ea, quæ ex me audîstis, re experti, probare possitis.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

LÆLIUS, SIVE DE AMICITIÂ

DIALOGUS,

AD

T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM.

I. Quintus Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Lælio, socero suo, memoriter et jucunde solebat, nec dubitare, illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem. Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scævolam, sumptâ virili togâ, ut, quoad possem, et liceret, a senis latere nunquam discederem. Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta, memoriæ mandabam; fierique studebam ejus prudentiâ doctior. Quo mortuo, me ad pontificem Scævolam contuli; quem unum nostræ civitatis et ingenio et justitiâ præstantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias: nunc redeo ad augurem. Cum sæpe multa, tum memini, domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego

essem unâ, et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui tum fere omnibus erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, (cum is, tribunus plebis, capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat) quanta hominum esset vel admiratio, vel querela. Itaque tum Scævola, cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitiâ, habitum ab illo secum, et cum altero genero, C. Fannio, M. filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani.

Ejus disputationis sententias memoriæ mandavi; quas hoc libro exposui meo arbitratu: quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne *Inquam* et *Inquït*, sæpius interponeretur; atque, ut, tanquam a præsentibus, coram haberi sermo videretür. Cum enim sæpe mecum ageres, ut de amicitiâ scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res, cum omnium cognitione, tum nostrâ familiaritate, visa est. Itaque feci non invitus, ut prodessem multis tuo rogatu. Sed, ut in "Catone Majore," qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quæ de illâ ætate loqueretur, quam ejus, qui et diutissime senex fuisset, et in ipsâ senectute præ cæteris floruisset; sic, cum accepissemus

a patribus, maxime memorabilem C. Lælii et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Lælii persona visa est, quæ de amicitiâ ea ipsa dissereret, quæ disputata ab eo meminisset Scævola.

Genus autem hoc sermonum, positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum illustrium, plus, nescio quo pacto, videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque ipse, mea legens, sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem. Sed, ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitiâ scripsi. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Lælius, et sapiens (sic enim est habitus), et amicitiæ gloriâ excellens, de amicitiâ loquitur. Tu, velim, animum a me parumper avertas; Lælium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani: ab his sermo oritur: respondet Lælius; cujus tota disputatio est de amicitiâ, quam legens tu te ipse cognosces.

II. *Fannius.* Sunt ista, Læli: nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam, nec clarior. Sed existimare debes, omnium oculos in te esse conjectos: unum te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni: scimus, L. Atilium apud patres nostros appella-

tum esse sapientem: sed uterque alio quodam modo: Atilius, quia prudens esse in jure civili putabatur; Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat. Multa ejus, et in senatu et in foro, vel provisa prudenter, vel acta constanter, vel responsa acute, ferebantur. Propterea, quasi cognomen jam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo dicunt, non solum naturâ et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrinâ, esse sapientem; nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliquâ Græciâ neminem (nam qui septem appellantur, eos, qui ista subtilius quærunt, in numero sapientium non habent); Athenis unum accepimus, et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum judicatum. Hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita ducas, humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quærunt, (credo, item ex te, Scævola) quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod, his proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris, commentandi causâ, ut assolet, venissemus, tu non affuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem, et illud munus, solitus esses obire.

Scævola. Quærunt quidem, C. Læli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum: sed ego id respondeo, quod animadverti, te dolorem, quem acceperis, cum summi viri, tum amicissimi morte, ferre

moderate: nec potuisse non commoveri, nec fuisse id humanitatis tuæ: quod autem his Nonis in nostro collegio non affuisses, valetudinem causam, non mœstitiam, fuisse.

Lælius. Recte tu quidem, Scævola, et vere. Nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui; nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. Tu autem, Fanni, qui mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice: sed, ut mihi videris, non recte judicas de Catone: aut enim nemo (quod quidem magis credo), aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quomodo enim (ut alia omittam) mortem filii tulit? Memineram Paulum; videram Gallum: sed hi in pueris; Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. Quamobrem cave Catoni anteponas, ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo (ut ais) sapientissimum judicavit. Hujus enim facta, illius dicta, laudantur. De me autem (ut jam cum utroque loquar) sic habetote.

III. Ego, si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes: sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim, tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo unquam erit; et, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed

non egeo medicinâ: me ipse consolor, et maxime illo solatio, quod eo errore careo, quo, amicorum decessu, plerique angi solent. Nihil enim mali accidisse Scipioni puto: mihi accidit, si quid accidit. Suis autem incommodis graviter angi, non amicum, sed seipsum amantis est.

Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse præclare? Nisi enim (quod ille minime putabat) immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo jam puero habuerant, continuo adolescens incredibili virtute superavit: qui consulatum petivit nunquam, factus est consul bis: primum ante tempus; iterum sibi, suo tempore; reipublicæ, pæne sero: qui, duabus urbibus eversis, inimicissimis huic imperio, non modo præsentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis? de pietate in matrem? liberalitate in sorores? bonitate in suos? justitiâ in omnes? nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, mœrore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio juvare potuisset? Senectus enim, quamvis non sit gravis, (ut memini Catonem, anno ante quam mortuus est, mecum et cum Scipione disserere) tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in quâ etiamnum erat Scipio.

Quamobrem vita quidem talis fuit, vel fortunâ,

vel gloriâ, ut nihil posset accedere. Moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit: quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur, videtis. Hoc tamen vere licet dicere, P. Scipioni, ex multis diebus, quos in vitâ celeberrimos lætissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, cum, senatu dimisso, domum reductus ad vesperum est, a patribus conscriptis, a populi Romani sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vitâ : ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur potius, quam ad inferos, pervenisse. Neque enim assentior iis, qui hæc nuper disserere cœperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire, atque omnia morte deleri.

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essem unâ, et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui tum fere omnibus erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, (cum is, tribunus plebis, capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat) quanta hominum esset vel admiratio, vel querela. Itaque tum Scævola, cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitiâ, habitum ab illo secum, et cum altero genero, C. Fannio, M. filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani.

Ejus disputationis sententias memoriæ mandavi; quas hoc libro exposui meo arbitratu: quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne *Inquam* et *Inquit*, sæpius interponeretur; atque, ut, tanquam a præsentibus, coram haberi sermo videretur. Cum enim sæpe mecum ageres, ut de amicitiâ scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res, cum omnium cognitione, tum nostrâ familiaritate, visa est. Itaque feci non invitus, ut prodessem multis tuo rogatu. Sed, ut in "Catone Majore," qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quæ de illâ ætate loqueretur, quam ejus, qui et diutissime senex fuisset, et in ipsâ senectute præ cæteris floruisset; sic, cum accepissemus

a patribus, maxime memorabilem C. Lælii et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Lælii persona visa est, quæ de amicitiâ ea ipsa dissereret, quæ disputata ab eo meminisset Scævola.

Genus autem hoc sermonum, positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum illustrium, plus, nescio quo pacto, videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque ipse, mea legens, sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem. Sed, ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitiâ scripsi. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Lælius, et sapiens (sic enim est habitus), et amicitiæ gloriâ excellens, de amicitiâ loquitur. Tu, velim, animum a me parumper avertas; Lælium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani: ab his sermo oritur: respondet Lælius; cujus tota disputatio est de amicitiâ, quam legens tu te ipse cognosces.

II. *Fannius.* Sunt ista, Læli: nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam, nec clarior. Sed existimare debes, omnium oculos in te esse conjectos: unum te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni: scimus, L. Atilium apud patres nostros appella-

tum esse sapientem: sed uterque alio quodam modo: Atilius, quia prudens esse in jure civili putabatur; Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat. Multa ejus, et in senatu et in foro, vel provisa prudenter, vel acta constanter, vel responsa acute, ferebantur. Propterea, quasi cognomen jam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo dicunt, non solum naturâ et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrinâ, esse sapientem; nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliquâ Græciâ neminem (nam qui septem appellantur, eos, qui ista subtilius quærunt, in numero sapientium non habent); Athenis unum accepimus, et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum judicatum. Hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita ducas, humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quærunt, (credo, item ex te, Scævola) quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod, his proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris, commentandi causâ, ut assolet, venissemus, tu non affuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem, et illud munus, solitus esses obire.

Scævola. Quærunt quidem, C. Læli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum: sed ego id respondeo, quod animadverti, te dolorem, quem acceperis, cum summi viri, tum amicissimi morte, ferre

moderate: nec potuisse non commoveri, nec fuisse id humanitatis tuæ: quod autem his Nonis in nostro collegio non affuisses, valetudinem causam, non mœstitiam, fuisse.

Lælius. Recte tu quidem, Scævola, et vere. Nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui; nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. Tu autem, Fanni, qui mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice: sed, ut mihi videris, non recte judicas de Catone: aut enim nemo (quod quidem magis credo), aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quomodo enim (ut alia omittam) mortem filii tulit? Memineram Paulum; videram Gallum: sed hi in pueris; Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. Quamobrem cave Catoni anteponas, ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo (ut ais) sapientissimum judicavit. Hujus enim facta, illius dicta, laudantur. De me autem (ut jam cum utroque loquar) sic habetote.

III. Ego, si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes: sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim, tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo unquam erit; et, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed

non egeo medicinâ: me ipse consolor, et maxime illo solatio, quod eo errore careo, quo, amicorum decessu, plerique angi solent. Nihil enim mali accidisse Scipioni puto: mihi accidit, si quid accidit. Suis autem incommodis graviter angi, non amicum, sed seipsum amantis est.

Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse præclare? Nisi enim (quod ille minime putabat) immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non est adeptus, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo jam puero habuerant, continuo adolescens incredibili virtute superavit: qui consulatum petivit nunquam, factus est consul bis: primum ante tempus; iterum sibi, suo tempore; reipublicæ, pæne sero: qui, duabus urbibus eversis, inimicissimis huic imperio, non modo præsentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis? de pietate in matrem? liberalitate in sorores? bonitate in suos? justitiâ in omnes? nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, mœrore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio juvare potuisset? Senectus enim, quamvis non sit gravis, (ut memini Catonem, anno ante quam mortuus est, mecum et cum Scipione disserere) tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in quâ etiamnum erat Scipio.

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posita non tam in nostris consiliis, quam in fortunæ temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, præclare illi quidem: sed hæc ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit, et continet; nec, sine virtute, amicitia esse ullo pacto potest.

Jam virtutem ex consuetudine vitæ sermonisque nostri interpretemur; nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentiâ metiamur: virosque bonos eos, qui habentur, numeremus, Paulos, Catones, Gallos, Scipiones, Philos. His communis vita contenta est: eos autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Tales igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere.

Principio, cui potest esse "vita vitalis" (ut ait Ennius), qui non in amici mutuâ benevolentiâ conquiescat? Quid dulcius, quam habere, quîcum omnia audeas sic loqui, ut tecum? Quis esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes, qui illis æque, ac tu ipse, gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset, sine eo qui illas gravius etiam, quam tu, ferret. Denique cæteræ res, quæ expetuntur, opportunæ sunt singulæ rebus fere singulis; divitiæ, ut utare; opes, ut colare; honores, ut laudere; voluptates, ut gaudeas; valetudo, ut dolore careas, et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia res plurimas continet: quoquo te verteris, præsto est: nullo

loco excluditur; nunquam intempestiva, nunquam molesta est. Itaque non aquâ, non igni (ut aiunt), pluribus locis utimur, quam amicitiâ. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri (quæ tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest), sed de verâ et perfectâ, loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia, et adversas, partiens communicansque, leviores.

VII. Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum præstat omnibus, quod bonâ spe prælucet in posterum; nec debilitari animos, aut cadere patitur. Verum etiam amicum qui intuetur, tanquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt, et egentes abundant, et imbecilles valent, et (quod difficilius dictu est) mortui vivunt: tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum: ex quo illorum beata mors videtur; horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex naturâ rerum benevolentiæ conjunctionem; nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit: ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intelligitur; quanta vis amicitiæ concordiæque sit, ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque dissidiis funditus possit everti? ex quo, quantum boni sit in amicitiâ, judicari potest.

† "The joys of life are heightened by a friend. The woes of life are [illegible] by a [illegible]
[illegible]

Agrigentinum quidem, doctum quendam virum, carminibus Græcis vaticinatum ferunt, quæ in rerum naturâ totoque mundo constarent, quæque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intelligunt, et re probant. Itaque, si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est, qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores totâ caveâ nuper in hospitis et amici mei, M. Pacuvii, novâ fabulâ; cum, ignorante rege, uter eorum esset Orestes, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur; Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret! Stantes plaudebant in re fictâ: quid arbitramur in verâ fuisse facturos? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, cum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero judicarent.

Hactenus mihi videor, de amicitiâ quid sentirem, potuisse dicere. Siqua præterea sunt (credo autem esse multa), ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quæritote.

Fannius. Nos autem a te potius; quanquam etiam ab istis sæpe quæsivi, et audivi, non invitus equidem: sed aliud quoddam expetimus filum orationis tuæ.

Scævola. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de republicâ

disputatum, affuisses. Qualis tum patronus justitiæ fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili!

Fannius. Facile id quidem fuit, justitiam justissimo viro defendere.

Scævola. Quid amicitiam? nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summâ fide, constantiâ, justitiâque servatam, maximam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. *Lælius.* Vim hoc quidem est afferre. Quid enim refert, quâ me ratione cogatis? cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, præsertim in re bonâ, cum difficile est, tum ne æquum quidem, obsistere.

Sæpissime igitur mihi, de amicitiâ cogitanti, maxime illud considerandum videri solet, num, propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam, desiderata sit amicitia; ut, dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio, vicissimque redderet; an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiæ; sed antiquior, et pulchrior, et magis a naturâ ipsâ profecta, alia causa. Amor enim (ex quo amicitia nominata) princeps est ad benevolentiam conjungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur sæpe, qui simulatione amicitiæ coluntur et observantur causâ temporis: in amicitiâ autem, nihil fictum, nihil simulatum: et, quidquid in eâ est, id est verum et voluntarium.

Quapropter, a naturâ mihi videtur potius, quam ab indigentiâ, orta amicitia, et applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi, quam cogitatione, quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest; quæ ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus, et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus appareat: quod, in homine, multo est evidentius: primum, ex eâ caritate, quæ est inter natos et parentes; quæ dirimi, nisi detestabili scelere, non potest: deinde, cum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus, cujus cum moribus et naturâ congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur.

Nihil est enim amabilius virtute; nihil, quod magis alliciat ad diligendum: quippe cum, propter virtutem et probitatem, eos etiam, quos nunquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est, qui C. Fabricii, M' Curii, non cum caritate aliquâ et benevolentiâ memoriam usurpet, quos nunquam viderit? Quis autem est, qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Mælium, non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italiâ decertatum est, Pyrrho et Hannibale: ab altero, propter probitatem ejus, non nimis alienos animos habemus: alterum, propter crudelitatem, semper hæc civitas oderit.

IX. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam, vel in eis quos nunquam vidimus, vel (quod majus est) in hoste etiam, diligamus; quid mirum, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu conjuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quanquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto, et studio perspecto, et consuetudine adjunctâ: quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis, admirabilis quædam exardescit benevolentiæ magnitudo; quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci, ut sit, per quem quisque assequatur, quod desideret; humilem sane relinquunt, et minime generosum (ut ita dicam), ortum amicitiæ, quam ex inopiâ atque indigentiâ natam volunt.

Quod si ita esset; ut quisque minimum in se esse arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus: quod longe secus est. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientiâ sic munitus est, ut nullo egeat, suaque omnia in se ipso posita judicet; ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim Africanus indigens mei? Minime, hercle: ac ne ego quidem illius: sed ego admiratione quâdam virtutis ejus, ille vicissim opinione fortasse nonnullâ, quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit: auxit benevolen-

tiam consuetudo. Sed, quanquam utilitates multæ et magnæ consecutæ sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causæ diligendi profectæ. Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam (neque enim beneficium fœneramur), sed naturâ propensi ad liberalitatem sumus; sic amicitiam, non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis ejus fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus.

Ab iis, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentimus: nec mirum: nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum, suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abjecerunt in rem tam humilem, tamque contemptam. Quamobrem, hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus: ipsi autem intelligamus, naturâ gigni sensum diligendi, et benevolentiæ caritatem, factâ significatione probitatis; quam qui appetiverunt, applicant sese, et propius admovent, ut et usu ejus, quem diligere cœperunt, fruantur, et moribus; sintque pares in amore, et æquales; propensioresque ad bene merendum, quam ad reposcendum: atque hæc inter eos sit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitiâ maximæ capientur; et erit ejus ortus a naturâ, quam ab imbecillitate, et gravior et verior. Nam, si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret: sed, quia natura mutari non

potest, idcirco veræ amicitiæ sempiternæ sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiæ videtis, nisi quid ad hæc forte vultis.

Fannius. Tu vero perge, Læli: pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo jure respondeo.

Scævola. Recte tu quidem: quamobrem audiamus.

X. *Lælius.* Audite ergo, optimi viri, ea, quæ sæpissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitiâ disserebantur: quanquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat, quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitæ permanere. Nam, vel ut non idem expediret utrique, incidere sæpe; vel ut de republicâ non idem sentirent; mutari etiam mores hominum sæpe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias ætate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis ætatis, quod summi puerorum amores sæpe unâ cum prætextâ ponerentur.

Sin autem ad adolescentiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione, vel uxoriæ conditionis, vel commodi alicujus, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitiâ provecti essent, tamen sæpe labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent: pestem enim majorem esse nullam in amicitiis, quam in plerisque pecuniæ cupiditatem, in

optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriæ; ex quo inimicitias maximas sæpe inter amicissimos exstitisse. Magna etiam dissidia, et plerumque justa nasci, cum aliquid ab amicis, quod rectum non esset, postularetur; ut aut libidinis ministri, aut adjutores essent ad injuriam: quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, jus tamen amicitiæ deserere arguerentur ab iis quibus obsequi nollent: illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsâ profiteri, omnia se amici causâ esse facturos: eorum querelâ inveteratas non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed etiam odia gigni sempiterna. Hæc ita multa, quasi fata, impendere amicitiis, ut, omnia subterfugere, non modo sapientiæ, sed etiam felicitatis, diceret sibi videri.

XI. Quamobrem id primum videamus, si placet, quâtenus amor in amicitiâ progredi debeat. Num, si Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuêre? num Viscellinum amici, regnum appetentem, num Sp. Mælium, debuerunt juvare?

Ti. quidem Gracchum rempublicam vexantem, a Q. Tuberone, æqualibusque amicis, derelictum videbamus. At C. Blosius, Cumanus, hospes familiæ vestræ, Scævola, cum ad me, qui aderam

Lænati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset, hanc, ut sibi ignoscerem, causam afferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum fecisset, ut, quidquid ille vellet, sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego, "Etiamne, si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet?" "Nunquam," inquit, "voluisset id quidem." "Sed, si voluisset?" "Paruissem." Videtis, quam nefaria vox: et, hercle, ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit: non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed præfuit; nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem, præbuit. Itaque, hac amentiâ, quæstione novâ perterritus, in Asiam profugit; ad hostes se contulit; pœnas reipublicæ graves justasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causâ peccaveris. Nam, cum conciliatrix amicitiæ virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris.

Quod si rectum statuerimus, vel concedere amicis quidquid velint, vel impetrare ab iis quidquid velimus, perfectâ quidem sapientiâ simus, si nihil habeat res vitii: sed loquimur de iis amicis qui ante oculos sunt, quos videmus, aut de quibus memoriam accepimus, aut quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxime, qui ad sapientiam proxime accedunt.

Videmus Papum Æmilium C. Luscino famili-

arem fuisse (sic a patribus accepimus), bis unâ consules, et collegas in censurâ: tum et cum iis, et inter se, conjunctissimos fuisse M' Curium et Ti. Coruncanium, memoriæ proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus, quemquam horum ab amico quidpiam contendisse, quod contra fidem, contra jusjurandum, contra rempublicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, "Si contendisset, scio impetraturum non fuisse?" cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint; æque autem nefas sit, tale aliquid et facere rogatum, et rogare. At vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et [minimus] tum quidem Caius frater, nunc idem acerrimus.

XII. Hæc igitur lex in amicitiâ sanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minime accipienda, cum in cæteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causâ fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scævola, locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus reipublicæ. Deflexit enim jam aliquantulum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo majorum. Ti. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat, aut viderat? Hunc,

etiam post mortem, secuti amici et propinqui, quid in P. Scipionem effecerint, sine lacrymis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quoquo modo potuimus, propter recentem pœnam Ti. Gracchi, sustinuimus: de C. Gracchi autem tribunatu, quid exspectem, non libet augurari. Serpit enim deinde res: quæ proclivius ad perniciem, cum semel cœpit, labitur. Videtis, in tabellâ jam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabiniâ lege, biennio autem post, Cassiâ. Videre jam videor populum a senatu disjunctum, multitudinisque arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quemadmodum hæc fiant, quam quemadmodum his resistatur.

Quorsum hæc? quia sine sociis nemo quidquam tale conatur. Præcipiendum est igitur bonis, ut, si in ejusmodi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment, ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magnâ aliquâ re peccantibus non discedant. Improbis autem pœna statuenda est; nec vero minor iis qui secuti erunt alterum, quam iis qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Græciâ Themistocle? quis potentior? qui, cum imperator bello Persico servitute Græciam liberâsset, propterque invidiam in exsilium pulsus esset, ingratæ patriæ injuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit. Fecit idem, quod XX annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adjutor contra

patriam inventus est nemo: itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit.

Quare talis improborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiæ tegenda non est, sed potius omni supplicio vindicanda; ut ne quis sibi concessum putet, amicum, vel bellum patriæ inferentem, sequi: quod quidem, ut res cœpit ire, haud scio, an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curæ est, qualis respublica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

XIII. Hæc igitur prima lex amicitiæ sanciatur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causâ honesta faciamus: ne exspectemus quidem, dum rogemur: studium semper adsit; cunctatio absit. Consilium vero dare gaudeamus libere: plurimum in amicitiâ amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas: eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum, non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit; et adhibitæ pareatur.

Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Græciâ, placuisse opinor mirabilia quædam (sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur suis argutiis): partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus: satis superque esse suarum cuique rerum: alienis nimis implicari molestum esse: commodissi-

mum esse, quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiæ; quas vel adducas, cum velis, vel remittas: caput enim esse ad beate vivendum, securitatem; quâ frui non possit animus, si tanquam parturiat unus pro pluribus.

Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius (quem locum breviter perstrinxi paulo ante) præsidii adjumentique causâ, non benevolentiæ neque caritatis, amicitias esse expetendas: itaque, ut quisque minimum firmitatis habeat, minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime: ex eo fieri, ut mulierculæ magis amicitiarum præsidia quærant, quam viri; et inopes, quam opulenti; et calamitosi, quam ii qui putentur beati.

O præclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vitâ tollunt; quâ a Diis immortalibus nihil melius habemus, nihil jucundius. Quæ est enim ista securitas? specie quidem, blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum, ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere, aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est; quæ, necesse est, cum aliquâ curâ, res sibi contrarias adspernetur atque oderit; ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus injustis justos maxime dolere,

imbecillibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti, et lætari bonis rebus, et dolere contrariis.

Quamobrem, si cadit in sapientem animi dolor (qui profecto cadit, nisi ex ejus animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitremur); quæ causa est, cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vitâ, ne aliquas, propter eam, suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest, motu animi sublato, non dico inter hominem et pecudem, sed inter hominem et saxum, aut truncum, aut quidvis generis ejusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse volunt: quæ quidem est, cum multis in rebus, tum in amicitiâ, tenera atque tractabilis; ut et bonis amici quasi diffundantur, et incommodis contrahantur. Quamobrem angor iste, qui pro amico sæpe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vitâ amicitiam; non plus, quam ut virtutes, quia nonnullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Cum autem contrahat amicitiam (ut supra dixi), si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus applicet, et adjungat; id cum contingit, amor exoriatur, necesse est. Quid enim tam absurdum, quam delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloriâ, ut ædificio, ut vestitu, cultuque corporis; animo autem

virtute prædito, eo, qui vel amare, vel (ut ita dicam) redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiæ, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque, jucundius.

Quod si etiam illud addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse, quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et tam attrahat, quam ad amicitiam similitudo; concedetur profecto, verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant, adsciscantque sibi, quasi propinquitate conjunctos atque naturâ. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui, nihil rapacius, quam natura. Quamobrem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scævola, constat, (ut opinor) bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam esse; qui est amicitiæ fons a naturâ constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non est enim inhumana virtus, neque immanis, neque superba; quæ etiam populos universos tueri, eisque optime consulere, soleat: quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret.

Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causâ fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiæ tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum, quam amici amor ipse, delectat: tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, jucundum, si cum studio est profectum: tantumque abest, ut amicitiæ propter indigentiam

colantur, ut ii, qui, opibus et copiis, maximeque virtute præditi (in quâ plurimum est præsidii), minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint, et beneficentissimi. Atque haud scio, an ne opus sit quidem, nihil unquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si nunquam consilio, nunquam operâ nostrâ, nec domi nec militiæ, Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam, consecuta est.

XV. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, si quando de amicitiâ, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est, (pro Deûm fidem, atque hominum!) qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam, nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis, atque in omnium rerum abundantiâ vivere? Hæc enim est tyrannorum vita; in quâ nimirum nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiæ potest esse fiducia: omnia semper suspecta, atque sollicita: nullus locus amicitiæ.

Quis enim aut eum diligat quem metuit, aut eum a quo se metui putat? Coluntur tamen simulatione duntaxat ad tempus. Quod si forte (ut fit plerumque) ceciderint, tum intelligitur, quam fuerint inopes amicorum: quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, cum jam

neutris gratiam referre posset. Quanquam miror, illâ superbiâ et importunitate, si quemquam habere potuit. Atque ut hujus, quem dixi, mores veros amicos parare non potuêre, sic multorum opes præpotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa fortuna cæca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit cæcos, quos complexa est. Itaque efferuntur illi fere fastidio et contumaciâ: neque quidquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest.

Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea commodis fuerunt moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus, immutari; spernique ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. Quid autem stultius, quam, cum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cætera parare, quæ parantur pecuniâ, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa pretiosa; amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam vitæ, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? Etenim, cætera cum parant, cui parent, nesciunt, nec cujus causâ laborent: ejus enim est istorum quodque, qui vincit viribus: amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio: ut, etiam si illa maneant, quæ sunt quasi dona fortunæ, tamen vita inculta, et deserta ab amicis, non possit esse jucunda. Sed hæc hactenus.

XVI. Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in

amicitiâ fines, et quasi termini, diligendi: de quibus tres video sententias ferri; quarum nullam probo: unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum affecti simus, quo erga nosmet ipsos; alteram, ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiæ pariter æqualiterque respondeat; tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab amicis.

Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quemadmodum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus. Quam multa enim, quæ nostrâ causâ nunquam faceremus, facimus causâ amicorum? precari ab indigno, supplicare; tum acerbius in aliquem invehi, insectarique vehementius: quæ in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime. Multæ quoque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt, detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius, quam ipsi, fruantur.

Altera sententia est, quæ definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Ditior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia; nec observare restricte, ne plus reddat, quam acceperit. Neque enim verendum est, ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram de-

fluat, aut ne plus æquo quid in amicitiam congeratur.

Tertius vero ille finis deterrimus, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Sæpe enim in quibusdam aut animus abjectior est, aut spes amplificandæ fortunæ fractior. Non est igitur amici, talem esse in eum, qualis ille in se est; sed potius eniti, et efficere, ut amici jacentem animum excitet, inducatque spem cogitationemque meliorem.

Alius igitur finis veræ amicitiæ constituendus est, si prius, quid maxime reprehendere Scipio solitus sit, edixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiæ potuisse reperiri, quam ejus, qui dixisset, ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus: nec vero se adduci posse, ut hoc (quemadmodum putaretur) a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; sed impuri cujusdam, aut ambitiosi, aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis, esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit, qui se putabit inimicum esse posse? Quinetiam necesse erit cupere et optare, ut quam sæpissime peccet amicus, quo plures det sibi tanquam ansas ad reprehendendum: rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum necesse erit angi, dolere, invidere.

Quare hoc quidem præceptum (cujuscumque

est) ad tollendam amicitiam valet. Illud potius præcipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis, ut nequando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quinetiam, si minus felices in deligendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius, quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum, putabat.

XVII. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum, sine ullâ exceptione, communitas; ut, etiam si quâ fortunâ acciderit, ut minus justæ amicorum voluntates adjuvandæ sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum sit de viâ, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur. Est enim, quâtenus amicitiæ dari venia possit. Nec vero negligenda est fama: nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium; quam blanditiis et assentando colligere turpe est. Virtus, quam sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est.

Sed sæpe (etenim redeo ad Scipionem, cujus omnis sermo erat de amicitiâ) querebatur, quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent; ut capras et oves quot quisque haberet, dicere posset; amicos quot haberet, non posset dicere:

et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis eligendis negligentes esse: nec habere quasi signa quædam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitiam essent idonei, judicarent. Sunt igitur firmi, et stabiles, et constantes eligendi; cujus generis est magna penuria: et judicare difficile est sane, nisi expertum: experiendum autem est in ipsâ amicitiâ. Ita præcurrit amicitia judicium, tollitque experiendi potestatem.

Est igitur prudentis, sustinere, ut currum, sic impetum benevolentiæ; quo utamur, quasi equis tentatis, sic amicitiis, aliquâ parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam sæpe in parvâ pecuniâ perspiciuntur, quam sint leves: quidam, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magnâ. Sin vero erunt aliqui reperti, qui pecuniam præferre amicitiæ, sordidum existiment; ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes, amicitiæ non anteponant; ut, cum ex alterâ parte proposita hæc sint, ex alterâ jus amicitiæ, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim natura est ad contemnendam potentiam: quam etiam si neglectâ amicitiâ consecuti sunt, obscuratum iri se arbitrantur, quia non sine magnâ causâ sit neglecta amicitia.

Itaque veræ amicitiæ difficillime reperiuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque publicâ versantur. Ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici an-

teponat suo? Quid? hæc ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles, plerisque videntur calamitatum societates! ad quas, non est facile inventu, qui descendat. Quanquam Ennius recte:

"Amicus certus in re incertâ cernitur:"

tamen hæc duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt; aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt, aut in malis deserunt.

XVIII. Qui igitur utrâque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitiâ præstiterit, hunc ex maxime raro hominum genere judicare debemus, et pæne divino.

Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiæque ejus, quam in amicitiâ quærimus, fides est. Nihil enim stabile est, quod infidum est. Simplicem præterea, et communem, et consentientem, qui rebus iisdem moveatur, eligi par est: quæ omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem: neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium, et tortuosum: neque vero, qui non iisdem rebus movetur, et naturâ consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse.

Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur, aut credat oblatis: quæ omnia pertinent ad eam, quam jamdudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam, nisi inter bonos, esse non posse.

Est enim boni viri (quem eundem sapientem licet dicere) hæc duo tenere in amicitiâ: primum, nequid fictum sit, neve simulatum (aperte enim vel odisse, magis ingenui est, quam fronte occultare sententiam); deinde, non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid existimantem ab amico esse violatum.

Accedat huc suavitas quædam, oportet, sermonum atque morum, haudquâquam mediocre condimentum amicitiæ. Tristitia autem, et in omni re severitas, habet illa quidem gravitatem: sed amicitia remissior esse debet, et liberior, et dulcior, et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

XIX. Exsistit autem hoc loco quædam quæstio subdifficilis: num quando amici novi, digni amicitiâ, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus? Indigna homine dubitatio: non enim amicitiarum esse debent, sicut aliarum rerum, satietates. Veterrima quæque (ut ea vina, quæ vetustatem ferunt) esse debent suavissima: verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiæ munus expletum sit. Novitates autem, si spem afferunt, ut, tanquam in herbis non fallacibus, fructus appareat, non sunt illæ quidem

repudiandæ: vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda est. Maxima est enim vis vetustatis, et consuetudinis: ut, in ipso equo, cujus modo mentionem feci, si nulla res impediat, nemo est, qui non eo, quo consuevit, libentius utatur, quam intractato et novo: nec modo in hoc, quod est animal, sed in iis etiam quæ sunt inanimata, consuetudo valet; cum locis etiam ipsis montuosis delectemur et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus.

Sed maximum est in amicitiâ, superiorem parem esse inferiori: sæpe enim excellentiæ quædam sunt; qualis erat Scipionis in nostro (ut ita dicam) grege. Nunquam se ille Philo, nunquam Rupilio, nunquam Mummio anteposuit, nunquam inferioris ordinis amicis. Q. vero Maximum, fratrem, egregium virum, omnino sibi nequâquam parem, quod is anteibat ætate, tanquam superiorem, colebat; suosque omnes per se esse ampliores volebat. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus; ut, si quam præstantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunæ consecuti sunt, impertiant eam suis, communicentque cum proximis: ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliores vel animo vel fortunâ, eorum augeant opes, eisque honori sint, et dignitati: ut, in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu, propter ignorationem stirpis et generis, in famulatu fuerint, cum cogniti

sunt, et aut Deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod quidem est multo profecto magis in veris patribus, certisque, faciendum. Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis, omnisque præstantiæ, tum maximus capitur, cum in proximum quemque confertur.

XX. Ut igitur ii, qui sunt in amicitiæ conjunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exæquare se cum inferioribus debent; sic inferiores non dolere, se a suis aut ingenio aut fortunâ aut dignitate superari: quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid, aut etiam exprobrant; eoque magis, si habere se putant, quod officiose et amice, et cum labore aliquo suo, factum queant dicere. Odiosum sane genus hominum, officia exprobrantium; quæ meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare, qui contulit.

Quamobrem ut ii, qui superiores sunt, submittere se debent in amicitiâ, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit, nisi iis qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur; qui hac opinione, non modo verbis, sed etiam opere, levandi sunt.

Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, primum, quantum ipse efficere possis; deinde etiam, quantum ille, quem diligas atque adjuves, sustinere. Non enim tu possis, quantumvis excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere; ut Scipio P. Rutilium potuit consulem efficere, fratrem ejus Lucium non potuit. Quod si etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen, quid ille possit sustinere.

Omnino amicitiæ, corroboratis jam confirmatisque et ingeniis et ætatibus, judicandæ sunt: nec, si qui, ineunte ætate, venandi aut pilæ studiosi fuerint, eos habere necessarios oportet, quos tum eodem studio præditos dilexerunt: isto enim modo nutrices et pædagogi, jure vetustatis, plurimum benevolentiæ postulabunt: qui negligendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo colendi. Aliter amicitiæ stabiles permanere non possunt. Dispares enim mores, disparia studia, sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias: nec, ob aliam causam ullam, boni improbis, improbi bonis, amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos, quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque distantia.

Recte etiam præcipi potest in amicitiis, ne intemperata quædam benevolentia (quod persæpe fit) impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim (ut ad fabulas redeam) Trojam Neoptole-

mus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrymis iter suum impedientem, audire voluisset. Et sæpe incidunt magnæ res, ut discedendum sit ab amicis; quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est, mollisque naturâ, et, ob eam ipsam causam, in amicitiâ parum justus. Atque in omni re considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico, et quid patiare a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quasi quædam calamitas in amicitiis dimittendis nonnunquam necessaria: jam enim a sapientium familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt sæpe vitia amicorum, cum in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos; quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiæ sunt remissione usûs eluendæ, et (ut Catonem dicere audivi) dissuendæ magis, quam discindendæ: nisi quædam admodum intolerabilis injuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit, neque fieri possit, ut non statim alienatio disjunctioque facienda sit.

Sin autem morum aut studiorum commutatio quædam (ut fieri solet) facta erit, aut in reipublicæ partibus dissensio intercesserit (loquor enim jam, ut paulo ante dixi, non de sapientium, sed de communibus, amicitiis), cavendum erit, ne

non solum amicitiæ depositæ, sed inimicitiæ etiam susceptæ, videantur. Nihil enim est turpius, quam cum eo bellum gerere, quîcum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitiâ Q. Pompeii, meo nomine, se removerat (ut scitis) Scipio: propter dissensionem autem, quæ erat in republicâ, alienatus est a collegâ nostro Metello. Utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate, et offensione animi non acerbâ.

Quamobrem, primum danda opera est, nequa amicorum dissidia fiant: sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut exstinctæ potius amicitiæ, quam oppressæ, esse videantur. Cavendum vero est, ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiæ: e quibus jurgia, maledicta, contumeliæ, gignantur: quæ tamen, si tolerabiles erunt, ferendæ sunt: et hic honos veteri amicitiæ tribuendus est, ut is in culpâ sit qui faciat, non qui patiatur, injuriam. Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est, atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiamus, neve non dignos.

Digni autem sunt amicitiâ, quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur. Rarum genus (et quidem omnia præclara rara); nec quidquam difficilius, quam reperire, quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quidquam bonum nôrunt, nisi quod fructuosum sit; et amicos, tanquam pecudes, eos

potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos. Ita pulcherrimâ illâ et maxime naturali carent amicitiâ, per se et propter se expetendâ: nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, hæc vis amicitiæ qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suæ, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est: quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferatur, verus amicus nunquam reperietur: est enim is quidem tanquam alter idem.

Quod si hoc apparet in bestiis, volucribus, nantibus, agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se ipsæ diligant (id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur), deinde, ut requirant atque appetant, ad quas se applicent, ejusdem generis animantes; idque faciunt cum desiderio, et cum quâdam similitudine amoris humani; quanto id magis in homine fit naturâ, qui et se ipse diligit, et alterum anquirit, cujus animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat pæne unum ex duobus?

XXII. Sed plerique perverse (ne dicam, impudenter) amicum habere talem volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt: quæque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, hæc ab iis desiderant. Par est autem, primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quærere. In talibus ea, quam jamdudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiæ confirmari

potest: cum homines benevolentiâ conjuncti, primum cupiditatibus iis, quibus cæteri serviunt, imperabunt, deinde æquitate justitiâque gaudebunt; omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet; neque quidquam unquam, nisi honestum et rectum, alter ab altero postulabit: neque solum se colent inter se, ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur: nam maximum ornamentum amicitiæ tollit, qui ex eâ tollit verecundiam.

Itaque in iis perniciosus est error, qui existimant, libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitiâ licentiam. Virtutum amicitia adjutrix a naturâ data est, non vitiorum comes; ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea, quæ summa sunt, pervenire, conjuncta et consociata cum alterâ perveniret: quæ si quos inter societas aut est, aut fuit, aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturæ bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus.

Hæc est, inquam, societas, in quâ omnia insunt, quæ putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi, atque jucunditas: ut, cum hæc adsint, beata vita sit, et sine his esse non possit. Quod cum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est; sine quâ neque amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus: eâ vero neglectâ, qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se

denique errâsse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit.

Quocirca (dicendum est enim sæpius) cum judicaveris, diligere oportet; non, cum dilexeris, judicare. Sed, cum multis in rebus negligentiâ plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et deligendis et colendis. Præposteris enim utimur consiliis; et acta agimus, quod vetamur veteri proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro, vel usu diuturno, vel etiam officiis, repente, in medio cursu, amicitias, exortâ aliquâ offensione, dirumpimus.

XXIII. Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariæ tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cujus utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt: quanquam a multis ipsa virtus contemnitur, et venditatio quædam atque ostentatio esse dicitur. Multi divitias despiciunt, quos, parvo contentos, tenuis victus cultusque delectat: honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil levius, esse existiment! itemque cætera, quæ quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt, qui pro nihilo putent. De amicitiâ omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii qui ad rempublicam se contulerunt, et ii qui rerum cognitione doctrinâque delectantur, et ii qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi: postremo,

ii, qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitiâ vitam esse nullam sentiunt, si modo velint aliquâ ex parte liberaliter vivere. Serpit enim, nescio quomodo, per omnium vitas amicitia; nec ullam ætatis degendæ rationem patitur esse expertem sui.

Quinetiam, si quis eâ asperitate est, et immanitate naturæ, congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit (qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus); tamen is pati non possit, ut non anquirat aliquem, apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suæ. Atque hoc maxime judicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere, ut aliquis nos Deus ex hac hominum frequentiâ tolleret, et in solitudine uspiam collocaret, atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam, hominis omnino adspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus, qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo?

Verum ergo illud est, quod, a Tarentino Archytâ (ut opinor) dici solitum, nostros senes commemorare audivi, ab aliis senibus auditum: "Si quis in cœlum adscendisset, naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quæ jucundissima fuisset, [si] aliquem cui narraret, habuisset." Sic natura solitarium nihil amat;

semperque ad aliquod tanquam adminiculum annititur; quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed, cum tot signis eadem natura declaret, quid velit, anquirat, ac desideret; obsurdescimus tamen, nescio quomodo; nec ea, quæ ab eâ monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiæ; multæque causæ suspicionum, offensionumque dantur; quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre, sapientis est. Una illa sublevanda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitiâ et fides retineatur: nam et monendi amici sæpe sunt, et objurgandi; et hæc accipienda amice, cum benevole fiunt. Sed, nescio quomodo, verum est, quod in "Andriâ" familiaris meus dicit:

"Obsequium amicos, veritas odium, parit."

Molesta veritas, si quidem ex eâ nascitur odium (quod est venenum amicitiæ): sed obsequium multo molestius, quod, peccatis indulgens, præcipitem amicum ferri sinit. Maxima autem culpa in eo est, qui et veritatem adspernatur, et in fraudem obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est; primum, ut monitio acerbitate, deinde objurgatio contumeliâ, careat: in obsequio autem (quoniam Terentiano

verbo lubenter utimur) comitas adsit: assentatio, vitiorum adjutrix, procul amoveatur; quæ non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem, digna est. Aliter enim cum tyranno, aliter cum amico, vivitur.

Cujus autem aures veritati clausæ sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa, "Melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri, quam eos amicos qui dulces videantur: illos verum sæpe dicere, hos nunquam." Atque illud absurdum est, quod ii, qui monentur, eam molestiam, quam debent capere, non capiunt; eam capiunt, quâ debent vacare. Peccâsse enim se non anguntur; objurgari moleste ferunt: quod contra oportebat, delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

XXV. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est veræ amicitiæ; et alterum libere facere, non aspere; alterum patienter accipere, non repugnanter; sic habendum est, nullam in amicitiis pestem esse majorem, quam adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem: quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum, levium hominum atque fallacium, ad voluntatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. Cum autem omnium rerum simulatio est vitiosa, (tollit enim

judicium veri, idque adulterat) tum amicitiæ repugnat maxime. Delet enim veritatem, sine quâ nomen amicitiæ valere non potest. Nam, cum amicitiæ vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus; quî id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit, idemque semper, sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, quam animus ejus, qui, ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem, sed etiam vultum atque nutum, convertitur?

"Negat quis? nego. Ait? aio. Postremo, imperavi egomet mihi,
Omnia assentari,"

ut ait idem Terentius: sed ille sub Gnathonis personâ; quod amici genus adhibere, omnino levitatis est. Multi autem Gnathonum similes, cum sint loco, fortunâ, famâ superiores: horum est assentatio molesta, cum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas.

Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero, et internosci, tam potest, adhibitâ diligentiâ, quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Concio, quæ ex imperitissimis constat, tamen judicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est, assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem, severum, et gravem. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in aures concionis,

cum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos. Sed nihil de me: de Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illa (Dii immortales!) fuit gravitas! quanta in oratione majestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, non comitem, diceres. (Sed affuistis: et est in manibus oratio.) Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maximo, fratre Scipionis, et L. Mancino consulibus, quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licinii Crassi videbatur: cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur. Atque is primum instituit, in forum versus, agere cum populo: tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio Deorum immortalium, nobis defendentibus, facile vincebat. Atque id actum est, prætore me, quinquennio ante quam consul sum factus. Itaque re magis, quam auctoritate, causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. Quod si in scenâ [id est, in concione], in quâ rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet (si modo id patefactum et illustratum est), quid in amicitiâ fieri oportet, quæ tota veritate perpenditur? in quâ nisi (ut dicitur) apertum pectus videas, tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas: ne amare quidem, aut amari; cum, id quam vere fiat, ignores. Quanquam ista assentatio, quamvis

perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest, nisi ei qui eam recipit, atque eâ delectatur. Ita fit, ut is assentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi assentetur, et se maxime ipse delectet.

Omnino est amans sui virtus: optime enim se ipsa novit; quamque amabilis sit, intelligit. Ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione: virtute enim ipsâ non tam multi prædití esse, quam videri, volunt. Hos delectat assentatio: his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur hæc amicitia, cum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comœdiis assentatio nobis faceta videretur, nisi essent Milites Gloriosi.

"Magnas vero agere gratias Thaïs mihi?"

Satis erat respondere, "Magnas:" "Ingentes," inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cujus ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum. Quamobrem, quamvis blanda ista vanitas apud eos valeat, qui ipsi illam allectant et invitant; tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animum advertant, nè callidâ assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors.

Callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est: nec enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando sæpe assentetur; et, litigare se simulans, blandiatur, atque ad extremum det manus, vincique se patiatur; ut is, qui illusus sit, plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius, quam illudi? Quod ne accidat, magis cavendum est, ut in "Epiclero:"

"Hodie me, ante omnes comicos stultos senes,
Versâris atque luseris lautissime."

Hæc enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvidorum et credulorum senum. Sed, nescio quo pacto, ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est, sapientium, (de hac dico sapientiâ quæ videtur in hominem cadere posse) ad leves amicitias deflexit oratio. Quamobrem, ad illa prima redeamus, eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias, et conservat. In eâ est enim convenientia rerum, in eâ stabilitas, in eâ constantia. Quæ cum se extulit, et ostendit lumen suum, et idem adspexit agnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet, vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est: ex quo eorum exardescit sive amor, sive amicitia: utrumque

enim dictum est ab amando: amare autem nihil aliud est, nisi eum ipsum diligere, quem ames, nullâ indigentiâ, nullâ utilitate quæsitâ; quæ tamen ipsa efflorescit ex amicitiâ, etiam si tu eam minus secutus sis.

Hac nos adolescentes benevolentiâ senes illos, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Gallum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus. Hæc etiam magis elucet inter æquales, ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium. Vicissim autem senes in adolescentium caritate acquiescimus; ut in vestrâ, ut in Q. Tuberonis: equidem etiam admodum adolescentis, P. Rutilii, A. Virginii, familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitæ naturæque nostræ, ut alia ætas oriatur; maxime quidem optandum est, ut cum æqualibus possis, quibuscum tanquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum iisdem ad calcem (ut dicitur) pervenire. Sed, quoniam res humanæ fragiles caducæque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt, quos diligamus, et a quibus diligamur. Caritate enim benevolentiâque sublatâ, omnis est e vitâ sublata jucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quanquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen, semperque vivet: virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quæ exstincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui;

sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo unquam animo aut spe majora suscipiet, qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet.

Equidem, ex omnibus rebus quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo, quod cum amicitiâ Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de republicâ consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eâdem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Nunquam illum ne minimâ quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim: nihil audivi ex eo ipse, quod nollem. Una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis; neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid, atque discendi, in quibus, remoti ab oculis populi, omne otiosum tempus contrivimus? Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si unâ cum illo occidisset, desiderium conjunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa exstincta sunt; aluntur que potius et augentur cogitatione et memoriâ. Et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen afferret mihi ætas ipsa solatium: diutius enim jam in hoc desiderio esse non possum. Omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiam si magna sint.

Hæc habui, de amicitiâ quæ dicerem. Vos autem hortor, ut ita virtutem [locetis,] sine quâ amicitia esse non potest, ut, eâ exceptâ, nihil amicitiâ præstabilius putetis.

NOTES.

In his treatise on old age, Cicero considers the various evils usually attributed to that period of life; that it withdraws us from active pursuits; that it weakens the organs of the body; that it takes away from us the pleasures of youth; that it is rendered melancholy by the near approach of death. These objections are severally taken up and discussed with such ability, that we may consider this treatise one of the most valuable of the moral kind which the ancients have transmitted to us.

Section I. The motive which induced Cicero to write the following treatise, to address it to T. Pomponius Atticus, and to give it the form of a dialogue between Cato, Scipio, and Lælius. The advantages of philosophy.

Page 7. *Line* 1. *Adjûro:* in some editions, *adjuero.* It is of little consequence which is used: *adjûro* is a contraction for *adjuvero,* and *levasso* in the same line an ancient form for *levavero.* Many instances of these occur in Plautus.

7. 5. *Flamininum:* Titus Quintius Flamininus, a distinguished general, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century from the foundation of Rome. The particular distress which gave occasion to this poem does not appear.

7. 6. *Ille vir:* Quintus Ennius, one of the earliest of the Roman poets. *Plenu* for *plenus.*

7. 7. *Certo scio:* an elliptical expression for *pro certo scio.*

7. 11. *Humanitatem et prudentiam:* "a cultivated and philosophic mind."

7. 16. *Hoc . . . . senectutis.* Cicero and Atticus were nearly of the same age; their intimacy commenced at school.

8. 6. *Occurrebas.* Sc. *animo,* or *menti.*

8. 18. *Aristo Chius:* a philosopher of the Stoical sect, and contemporary with Zeno. Tithonus, mentioned in the same line, is an imaginary character.

8. 27. *Plura.* Sc. *dicere.*

Sec. II. Those who have no internal resource of happiness, will find themselves uneasy in every stage of life. Nature to be followed as the surest guide.

9. 2. *Cæterarum rerum:* "on other subjects." The same form of expression occurs in the Brutus of Cicero: *Tum ille cæterarum rerum, inquit, istuc et doleo et dolendum puto.*

9. 6. *Ætnâ gravius:* a proverbial expression among the Romans, probably from the supposed fact celebrated by the poets, that some of the giants who were buried beneath Ætna, bore it on their shoulders, as Atlas is supposed to bear the heavens on his shoulders.

9. 18. *Quî:* ablative sing. of *qui.* Sc. *modo, ratione,* or *causâ.*

9. 27. *Nostroque cognomine.* Cato's proper name was Marcus Priscus, *Cato* being a characteristic addition, affixed to it by common consent from the old Latin term *Catus,* signifying "wise."

10. 1. *Naturam . . . . sequimur.* To follow nature, was the great principle upon which the ancient philosophers based their system of morals. By nature, they meant the laws of its divine founder as exhibited in the physical and moral world. The meaning of the precept, then, was, in the philosophical sense, to follow the dictates of reason, truth, or virtue.

10. 5. *Sed tamen . . . . . . sapienti:* "but yet there must be in the life of man, as in the fruits of trees and produce of the earth, a certain point of maturity, beyond which the works of decay must necessarily appear; this a wise man should bear with cheerful acquiescence."

Sec. III. The peculiar qualifications which Cicero had for writing a treatise on old age. The complaints of Caius Salinator and Spurius Albinus against old age, unreasonable. Happiness in old age not dependent on affluence. The cultivation of moral science and the exercise of its virtues necessary.

11. 15. *Est.* Sc. *res ita.*

11. 24. *Nec . . . . . . fuisses.* Seriphos was a small island in the Ægean Sea, now Serpho, famous only for a singular species of frogs, which are said to have been mute. The inhabitants were ignorant and degraded to a proverb. They are alluded to in the Acharnensis of Aristophanes, and by Cicero, here and in his treatise "De Naturâ Deorum." Themistocles intended to reproach the low condition, not only of the man, but of the whole people, as if it were unreasonable to expect any man born among them to be distinguished.

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12. 23. *Legis Cinciæ.* So long as the Romans preserved their virtue uncorrupted, those who possessed the powers of oratory, employed their talents in defence of clients without fee or reward. It sometimes happened, however, that little presents were made from the parties to their patrons. These, in process of time, came to be demanded as a matter of right, and were so excessive as to be more than an equivalent for the service received.

Cincius, one of the tribunes of the people, in order to correct this abuse, proposed the law here mentioned; and he was supported in his motion by Fabius Maximus.

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13. 8. *Tarentum recepisti.* Salinator commanded in Tarentum when the troops of Hannibal gained possession of the town; upon which he retired to the citadel, and gallantly defended it, until the city was retaken by Fabius.

13. 21. *Est in manibus laudatio:* "his panegyric is in the hands of all." The speech mentioned here was extant in the days of Plutarch, and is still read and admired as a perfect model and masterpiece of Roman eloquence. It was customary at the funerals of illustrious persons, for the nearest relation to speak an oration in honor of the deceased. This practice, as several of the Roman writers complain, tended very much to corrupt the truth of history, as these panegyrics, which frequently imputed virtues and actions to the object of them which never existed, were too often resorted to by historians as faithful documents and memoirs. Cic. in Brut. Liv. viii. 40. Melmoth.

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21. 18. *Illud:* that is, to play upon the lyre as Socrates is said to have done.

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30. 23. *Omnia, quæ faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda.* This was the doctrine of Epicurus. Lucretius was a convert and warm admirer of it.

31. 2. *Devoverat.* In a battle which was fought between the republic and the Latins, in the year of

Rome 457, Decius, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, finding his troops begin to yield, had recourse to *devotement*, by which a commander-in-chief making a voluntary oblation of his own life in the field of battle, was supposed to appease the anger of the gods, and reconcile them to the cause of his country.

31. 24. *Nullo exemplo:* "being the first private man who had done so." It was customary for those men only who had been invested with some public office, to appear with such ostentatious parade.

31. 27. *Sodalitates autem, me quæstore, constitutæ sunt.* M. Cato was quæstor to Africanus, during the consulship of Tuditanus and Cethegus. He calls "*τὰ συσσιτία*," *sodalitates*. Aristotle has frequently spoken, in his "Politics," of *sodalitiis*, and *sodalitiariis epulis*. Sodales were called by the Greeks, "*θιασῶται*." A college or society, instituted in honor of some god, and to celebrate his sacred rites, was called "*θίασος*," and the associates "*θιασῶται*." *Θιασῶται* were not the same as *συσσίτοις*; the latter always feasted together, the former only on certain days when they made sacrifices.

31. 28. *Sacris Idæis Magnæ Matris acceptis:* "when the sacred rites of Cybele were introduced into Rome." Cybele, a divinity said to be the mother of the gods, was worshipped at Pessinus in Phrygia, under the figure of a rude stone, which

was reported to have fallen from heaven on Mount Ida. The Sibylline oracles being consulted in consequence of several prodigies which alarmed the republic in the year of Rome 549, the persons appointed to inspect those pretended prophecies, declared that certain advantages would accrue to the commonwealth, if this extraordinary image could be procured and brought to Rome. A solemn embassy was appointed for that purpose; and the statue, if a shapeless stone may be so called, was accordingly obtained.

32. 10. *Compotationem.* The Romans, who were always deemed a more sober people than the Greeks, whenever they indulged in any excess of this kind, called it "*Græcari,*" i. e. *Græco more bibere.*

Sec. XIV. The inclination for the pleasures of the senses not so strong in old age as in youth. Sophocles. No season of life can be passed more agreeably, than the learned leisure of a virtuous old age. Caius Gallus.

32. 14. *Tempestivis conviviis:* "with prolonged entertainments." These were feasts commencing before the usual time, and continued through most of the night. We do not find "*Intempestivis*" in any good editions.

32. 23. *Me vero . . . . instituta.* The ancients, at their feasts, appointed a person to preside by throwing the dice, whom they called *Arbiter bi-*

bendi; Magister or *Rex convivii; Modiperator* or *Modimperator*, &c. He directed every thing at his pleasure.

32. 25. *A summo adhibetur in poculis. A summo bibere*, is to drink round from him who sits highest to him who sits lowest. This was a custom among the Romans, when they wished to give additional hilarity to the scene. Plautus says,

> "Age puere
> A summo septenis cyathis committe hos ludos."

Again,

> "Da puere ab summo, age tu interibi ab infimo da suavium."

32 27. *Minuta atque rorantia:* "moderate and refreshing."

33. 21. *Turpioen Ambivio:* "with the acting of Turpio Ambivius."

33. 27. *Tamquam emeritis . . . . omnium:* "as if freed from the tyranny of lust and ambition, of the angry and contentious passions, and of all irrational desires."

34. 13. *Truculento . . . . Pseudolo;* the Clown and the Cheat, two comedies of Plautus.

34. 22. *Suadæ medullam:* "the soul of eloquence."

Sec. XV. The pleasures and profits of rural employments.

35. 13. *Quæ . . . . excepit.* A similar expression occurs in Virgil:

Vere tument terræ, et genitalia semina poscunt:
Tum frater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus Æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.
Geor. ii. 324.

36. 26. *Aliorum immissio;* sc. *in sulcum.*

37. 7. *Eum stercorantem.* Some of the commentators have observed, that Cicero's memory failed him in this place, as Laertes, in the passage alluded to, is not found employed in dunging his field, but

"Stood
And cleared a plant encumbered with its wood."
Pope's Trans. of Odyss. xxiv. 267.

Sec. XVI. Manius Curius. Cincinnatus. Their old age rendered happy by cultivating their lands. Agriculture peculiarly adapted to this season of life.

38. 10. *Regnum appetentem:* "aiming at sovereignty." The occasion of this absolute power being committed to Servilius Ahala, arose from the dangerous practice of Sp. Mælius; who, taking advantage of the distress the public labored under in consequence of a general famine, had rendered himself extremely popular by supplying the poor with corn at his own expense. It having been discovered that he was concerting means, by the assistance of the populace, to overturn the government, the dictator summoned him by Servilius Ahala, his master of the horse, to appear before his tribunal. Mælius refusing to obey, and appealing to the people

for protection, Ahala rushed into the midst of the mob, and stabbed him to the heart.

38. 10. *Occupatum interemit;* that is, put him to death before he had an opportunity of executing his purpose. *Occupare* is the same as *præcipere, prævenire.*

38. 27. *Succidiam:* "the dessert;" so called from the delicacies which grew there.

39. 1. *Conditiora . . . . . operis:* "make more agreeable the intervals of their more important business."

Sec. XVII. Xenophon. Lysander. Valerius Corvus. The authority which a respectable old age affords.

40. 12. *Mea descriptio:* "the design is mine."

40. 24. *Actâ jam ætate:* "at an advanced age."

40. 27. *Itaque . . . . fuit.* When Servius Tullius classed the Roman people, he divided their ages into three periods, limiting childhood to the age of seventeen, youth to forty-six, and old age from thence to the end of life. *Aul. Gel.* x. 28. The passage may be rendered thus: "His career of honor, then, was equal to that period of life which our ancestors marked out for the commencement of old age."

41. 6. *Elogium unicum. Unicum* here means "celebrated" or "remarkable;" so *unice amare,* in another place, "to love with singular affection." *Elogium* is an inscription upon a tablet or statue — an epigram. So in section 20. 10. — *Solonis quidem*

sapientis elogium est, referring to the inscription upon the tomb of Solon.

SEC. XVIII. A virtuous old age only, entitled to veneration. Deference paid to old age in the college of augurs. Excuse for peevishness; means of softening and subduing it in old age. Folly of avarice.

41. 20. *Fundamentis adolescentiæ;* sc. *honeste actæ*, as he afterwards says: "upon the solid foundations of a well-spent youth."

41. 21. *Ex quo id efficitur:* "agreeably to this principle."

41. 23. *Oratione:* "by an apology."

41. 25. *Sed honeste . . . extremos:* "he whose former life has been honorably spent, receives in old age the reward of reverence."

42. 2. *Decedi:* "to be yielded to." *Deduci:* "to be respectfully accompanied."

42. 4. *Ut quæque optime morata:* "in proportion to the advancement of each in polished manners."

42. 20. *In nostro collegio;* that is, in the college of augurs.

42. 27. *Fabulam ætatis peregisse:* "to have acted well their parts on the theatre of life."

43. 2. *Corruisse:* "to have disgracefully failed."

43. 19. *Potest . . . . quærere:* "can any thing be more absurd than to increase our provision for the road, the nearer we approach to our journey's end?"

Sec. XIX. Fourth objection to old age considered, viz. that it must necessarily be a state of much anxiety and disquietude, from the near approach of death. Few arrive to old age; a reason why the affairs of the world are not better conducted. A wise and good man will be contented with the measure of life allowed to him. Every event, agreeable to the course of nature, ought to be regarded as a real good.

44. 12. *Tristius curantur:* "are restored to health with more difficulty."

45. 8. *In quo est aliquid extremum:* "that will necessarily have an end."

Sec. XX. Old age has no precise and determinate boundary. Suicide condemned.

46. 17. *Omnium .... terminus.* See note, 40. 27.

47. 8. *Vetatque .... decedere.* The practice of suicide prevailed among the ancient Greeks and Romans, although condemned by the best and wisest of their philosophers. Not only Pythagoras, but Socrates and Plato, considered it an act of rebellion against the authority of the Supreme Being.

47. 10. *Solonis elogium.* This was,

> "Mors mea ne careat lacrymis: linquamus amicis
> Mœrorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu."

47. 15. *Nemo .... Faxit:* "let no one honor me with tears, or perform my funeral rites with lamentation."

47. 19. *Sensus:* "a sense of pain."

48. 5. *M. Atilium;* Marcus Atilius Regulus.

48. 7. *Duos Scipiones.* These were Cneius and Publius Scipio.

Sec. XXI. The author's own sentiments respecting the consequences of death.

49. 5. *Quod eo melius . . . absum:* "because the nearer I approach to death, the more clearly I seem to discern its real nature."

49. 10. *In his compagibus corporis:* "within this prison of the body."

49. 25. *Universâ mente divinâ delibatos:* "emanating from the universal soul of the world." It was the opinion of these philosophers, that the universe was actuated by an intelligent and vivifying spirit, which pervaded all its parts in the same manner as the human soul animates and informs the human body.

50. 14. *Si non possit; sc. dividi.*

Sec. XXII. The elder Cyrus expresses his belief in the immortality of the soul.

51. 17. *Cum remissi et liberi sunt:* "when in this state of relaxation and freedom."

Sec. XXIII. The author's reasons for believing in the immortality of the soul.

52. 7. *Ut de meipso . . . glorier:* "if I may be indulged in an old man's privilege to boast of myself."

52. 28. *Quo quidem . . . . recoxerit.* Cato means to say that he would not willingly be induced to retrace his steps from old age to the vigor of youth; but that nothing would induce him to return to the days of childhood. The word *tanquam* is frequently used, as in this passage, for *quemadmodum. Tanquam Peliam* is the same as *Quemadmodum Pelias recoctus fuit.*

53. 5. *Nec vero velim . . . . revocari:* "I have no inclination, when my course is well nigh finished, to return to the goal." At one end of the Roman circus were several openings, from which the horses and chariots started, called "*carceres.*" *Creta*, or *calx*, was a white line or cross furrow, filled with chalk or lime, to mark the end of the course or limit of victory. Horace beautifully alludes to this — "*Mors ultima linea rerum.*" Ep. i. 16.

53. 20. *Ad Catonem meum;* that is, to my son Cato. It must be recollected that it is Cato Major who speaks; Cicero appears in his own person in the first section only of this dialogue, and says that his opinions on old age he shall express in the character of Cato.

53. 23. *Quod contra decuit ab illo meum:* "which last office, in the course of nature, he should have performed for mine."

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55. In the dialogue on friendship, Lælius is the chief speaker; whilst conversing with his two sons-

in-law, Fannius and Scævola, upon the death of P. Scipio, and the memorable friendship that had subsisted between them, he takes occasion, at their desire, to explain to them the nature and benefits of true friendship. The conference was suggested by the situation of the commonwealth at that period. It was published soon after the assassination of Julius Cæsar, when many respectable partisans of that ambitious chief were indirectly endeavoring to turn the popular odium upon the cause and the persons of the conspirators, by the public honors they exhibited to his memory; a conduct which they attempted to justify by the duties of private friendship.

Section I. What induced Cicero to write this treatise.

55. 1. *Quintus Mucius augur;* Quintus Mucius Scævola, who had married Lælia, the daughter of Lælius; it was remarked by his contemporaries, that he was "the greatest orator among the civilians, and the greatest civilian among the orators." The college of augurs consisted at this time of nine members, the eldest of whom was always *magister collegii*, or president of the society. Their business was to interpret omens, prodigies, &c., and to determine, by the principles of divination, whether any particular measure in question would prove fortunate, or the contrary.

55. 5. *Sumptâ virili togâ.* The manly gown was assumed at the age of seventeen. At this period of life, it was customary among the Romans to intrust

those who were intended for the high offices of the republic, to the patronage and protection of some respectable personage, eminent for his public and private virtues.

55. 10. *Me . . . . contuli:* "I committed myself to the instruction of Mucius Scævola, the pontiff." He was cousin german to the augur.

55. 12. *Et ingenio et justitiâ:* "both for the powers of his mind and the integrity of his heart."

55. 14. *In hemicyclio.* Hemicyclia were semicircular tables or seats, capable of accommodating many persons.

56. 4. *P. Sulpicio.* Publius Sulpicius was connected with Atticus by a family alliance. Pompeius was consul, and Sulpicius tribune, in the year of Rome 665, at which time the opposite factions of Scylla and Marius occasioned great disturbances in the republic. The quarrel alluded to in the text arose from their having taken different sides in those civil commotions; both lost their lives in the sanguinary contentions of those destructive factions, before the expiration of their respective magistracies.

56. 4. *Utebare multum:* "you were intimate with."

56. 13. *Africani;* of the second Africanus.

56. 15. *Meo arbitratu:* "after my own manner."

57. 7. *Plus habere gravitatis:* "to make a stronger impression."

Sec. II. In what the wisdom of Lælius consisted. An eulogium on Cato.

57. 23. *Africano;* Scipio Africanus, the second of that name. Cicero never mentions his name but with expressions of the warmest veneration. According to Plutarch, he was the first of the Romans in virtue as well as in authority.

57. 27. *L. Atilium.* Lucius Atilius, the colleague of Cato in the consulship, was one of the most distinguished men of his time in the knowledge of civil law.

58. 3. *Usum:* "experience."

58. 12. *Qui septem appellantur.* The number of these wise men is variously stated by the ancient writers; those here referred to are probably Bias, Chilo, Cleobulus, Pittacus, Solon, Thales, Periander. Plutarch says they acquired their particular designation, solely on account of those political benefits which their superior wisdom and sagacity had rendered to the respective states in which they resided. It is probable, however, that Thales derived this characteristic designation from the great talents he discovered in natural and mathematical knowledge, as he was the first who introduced those important sciences into Greece.

58. 14. *Athenis unum;* Socrates.

58. 17. *Ut omnia . . . . putes:* "that you consider all the resources of happiness dependent on yourself alone, and that human calamities are deprived of their bitterness by the possession of virtue."

58. 21. *His proximis Nonis.* Cicero, in his trea-

tise "De Divinatione," says that the augurs were accustomed to assemble at Rome on the Nones for consultation. The Romans divided their months into three parts, by Kalends, Nones, and Ides. The first day was Kalendæ or Calendæ, (a *calando* vel *vocando*,) from the priest calling out to the people that it was new moon; the fifth day, Nonæ, the Nones; the thirteenth, Idus, the Ides, from the obsolete verb *iduare*, to divide, because the Ides nearly divided the month. The Nones were so called because, counting inclusively, they were nine days from the Ides. In March, May, July, and October, the Nones fell on the seventh and the Ides on the fifteenth.

58. 22. *Ut assolet; sc. fieri.*

59. 6. *Quod . . . . valerem:* "which I always attended to when my health permitted."

59. 15. *Ut alia omittam; sc. exempla.*

59. 16. *Gallum.* This was Sulpicius Gallus, the first astronomer of his time, who discovered the cause of the eclipses of the sun and moon. Cicero speaks of this distinguished man in his treatise on old age.

59. 16. *Sed hi in pueris:* "but these lost their children in youth." Lucius Paulus Æmilius had two sons, both of whom he lost, one a few days before, and the other a few days after, he triumphed over the Macedonian king Perses.

59. 18. *Cave Catoni anteponas, ne istum quidem ipsum:* "take care that you do not prefer to Cato even that man," i. e. Socrates.

59\. 20. *Hujus;* Cato. *Illius;* Socrates.

SEC. III. The death of Scipio not considered a misfortune; the good qualities of that hero commended.

60\. 7. *Cum illo .... præclare?* "in the case of Scipio, who can deny that his life was honorably spent?"

60\. 14. *Primum ante tempus.* At the age of thirty-six he was a candidate for the office of ædile. The age required to be consul was forty-six. *Iterum;* more than ten years after his first consulship, at the time when his nephew Quintus Fabius was a candidate for the quæstorship. *Iterum sibi, suo tempore; reipublicæ, pæne sero:* "the next time, not prematurely with respect to himself, but well nigh too late for the commonwealth."

60\. 15. *Duabus urbibus;* Numantia and Carthage.

60\. 18. *De moribus facillimis:* "of the affability of his manners."

60\. 18. *De pietate in matrem?* his mother Papiria. Paulus, from whom she had been divorced on account of some disagreement, left her almost in poverty; but his son, after the death of Æmilia, the widow of his adopted father, gave up to Papiria the estate to which he succeeded. After her death, it was in his power to resume it, but he presented it to his sisters, and thus afforded them the means of living respectably.

60\. 21. *Mœrore funeris.* Scipio's obsequies were

honored by the noblest and most unquestionable of all panegyrics; for it was delivered from the mouth of a man who had always been in the number of his political enemies, and was himself esteemed one of the principal ornaments of his time. "*Go*," says Metellus, addressing himself to his sons, "*go and attend the funeral of Scipio, for never will you follow the remains of a greater man.*"

60. 22. *Paucorum annorum accessio.* Scipio died at the age of fifty-six.

61. 1. *Moriendi . . . . videtis:* "the suddenness of his death deprived it of any sensible degree of pain; what was the cause of his death, it is difficult to tell; what men suspect, you well know." Scipio was found dead in his bed; those who inquired for the causes of his sudden decease, perceived the marks of violence on his neck, and concluded that he had been strangled. This happened 128 years before Christ. It was generally believed that this assassination was committed by the Triumviri, Papirius Carbo, Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius Flaccus, who supported the Sempronian law, and by his wife Sempronia, who is charged with having introduced the murderers into the room. No inquiries were made after the authors of his death; Gracchus was the favorite of the mob, and the only atonement which the populace made for the death of Scipio, was to attend his funeral, and to show their concern by their cries and lamentations.

61\. 4. *Hoc tamen . . . . vitâ:* "this fact is unquestionable, that of the many brilliant and happy days which he passed during his life, that occasion was the most illustrious for Scipio, when, after the adjournment of the senate, he was conducted home on the evening preceding his death, by the conscript fathers, attended by the ambassadors from the allies of the Roman people, and from Latium."

61\. 12. *Iis;* the philosophers of the sect of Epicurus.

Sec. IV. Our souls are celestial bodies: the path to heaven is open to them after death, if they have not been polluted by vice.

61\. 17. *Religiosa jura.* That the souls of the departed should be respected; that all who were dead should be regarded as holy. By the Roman laws, a very severe punishment was inflicted upon those who attempted to violate the sepulchres of the dead. Not only were the tombs held sacred, but even the places were they had been were looked upon with veneration.

61\. 19. *Vel eorum;* the Pythagoreans, of whom mention is made in his treatise on old age.

61\. 19. *In hac terrâ;* Southern Italy.

61\. 19. *Magnamque Græciam.* Near the kingdom of Naples. This part of Italy was peopled by Grecian colonists, who gave to it their name. Pythagoras made it the seat of his sect under the reign of Tarquinius Superbus.

62. 2. *Quasi præsagiret:* "as if he had a presentiment of his death."

62. 3. *Philus et Manilius;* P. Furius Philus, who was consul with S. Atilius Serranus, A. U. C. DCXVII. M' Manilius, a distinguished lawyer, of whom Pomponius makes honorable mention. He was consul with Lucius Marcius Censorinus, A. U. C. DCIV.

62. 5. *Cujus . . . . animorum:* "the closing part of this conference treated generally of the soul's immortality." That fragment remains called the "Dream of Scipio." Middleton, in his Life of Cicero, calls it "one of his capital pieces, where all the important questions of politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy." This valuable performance was brought from Italy into England, about the year 1420, by a monk of Canterbury, and was afterwards among other manuscripts destroyed by fire.

62. 7. *In quiete per visum:* "by a vision during his sleep."

62. 12. *Quocirca . . . . sit:* "therefore, to lament his departure, would, I fear, indicate an envious rather than a friendly disposition."

62. 20. *Quamobrem . . . . de vitâ:* "with him, therefore, as I said before, this is a happy consummation: with me it is far otherwise, who, having entered earlier into the world, should, in the course of nature, have sooner left it."

63. 1. *Summa consensio:* "a perfect accordance."

63. 3. *Fama sapientiæ, falsa præsertim:* "that high opinion of my wisdom, especially as it is unmerited."

63. 5. *Idque mihi eo magis est cordi:* "and I indulge this hope with the more confidence."

63. 6. *Vix tria aut quatuor;* probably referring to Theseus and Pirithoüs, Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, Achilles and Patroclus.

Sec. V. Source of friendship; the power and nature of this sentiment. It can only exist and flourish in the hearts of honorable men. What men deserve the name of friends.

63. 21. *Ego . . . . confiderem:* "I would not hesitate, if I had confidence in my ability."

63. 24. *Doctorum . . . . subito.* The ancient Greek sophists, against whose arrogant claims to universal science Socrates so successfully pointed the force of his irony, were accustomed to call upon their auditors to propose any philosophic difficulty that embarrassed them, which they declared they would instantly discuss and resolve.

63. 27. *Egetque exercitatione non parvâ:* "and requires much consideration."

64. 7. *Sed hoc primum sentio:* "but I consider this a fundamental axiom."

64. 8. *Neque id ad vivum reseco:* "nor do I argue with too much severity." Literally, "nor do I cut to the quick."

64. 8. *Ut illi;* the Stoics.

64\. 18. *Ad istorum normam:* "according to the criterion which those philosophers have established."

64\. 19. *Invidiosum et obscurum:* "arrogant and unintelligible." He applies these terms to the ideal wisdom of the Stoics.

64\. 23. *Pingui Minervâ:* "by the humble standard of common sense;" Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, here figuratively put for genius. So in Horace, Sat. ii. 2—*Abnormis sapiens, crassâque Minervâ:* "a philosopher unshackled by rules, and with an uncultivated genius."

65\. 4. *Societas:* "a social relation."

Sec. VI. Definition and excellence of friendship.

65\. 20. *Omnium . . . . consensio:* "a perfect conformity of opinions upon all religious and civil subjects."

66\. 4. *Et gignit et continet:* "both produces and supports." For virtue is the mother and the nurse of friendship.

66\. 11. *Eos;* referring to those whom the Stoics consider virtuous.

66\. 13. *Opportunitates:* "advantages."

66\. 23. *Opportunæ . . . . singulis:* "have almost all severally their particular advantages."

Sec. VII. Friendship has numberless advantages which render it superior to all the other blessings of life.

67. 11. *Quod bonâ spe prælucet in posterum:* "because it brightens the future with the prospect of happiness."

67. 19. *Ex naturâ rerum:* "from the natural disposition."

68. 1. *Agrigentinum;* Empedocles, a philosopher, poet, and historian of Agrigentum in Sicily. According to Horace, this enthusiast, wishing to be thought a god, threw himself into the crater of Ætna, and perished there.

68. 10. *Totâ caveâ:* "through the theatre." The theatre was of an oblong, semicircular form, like the half of an amphitheatre. The benches or seats rose above one another, and were distributed to the different orders in the same manner as in the amphitheatre. The foremost rows, next the stage, called orchestra, were assigned to the senators and ambassadors of foreign states; fourteen rows behind them to the equites, and the rest to the people. The whole was called *cavea.*

68. 10. *M. Pacuvii;* one of the earliest and most celebrated dramatic poets. The text refers to the tragedy of Orestes, one of his best performances.

68. 11. *Rege;* Thoas, king of Taurica Chersonesus.

68. 25. *Sed aliud . . . . orationis tuæ:* "but we expect from your comments on this subject a different style of reasoning;" that is, one more likely to give us sound views upon the subject.

SEC. VIII. The origin of friendship.

69. 8. *Vim hoc quidem est afferre:* "this is urging me beyond the power of refusal."

69. 10. *Studiis:* "the earnest request.'

69. 15. *Propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam;* sc. *hominum.*

69. 22. *Princeps:* "an essential principle."

69. 25. *Causâ temporis:* "for the sake of interest."

70. 7. *Ad quoddam tempus;* that is, until they have no need of parental assistance.

70. 19. *Quis non memoriam usurpet:* "who does not remember?"

70. 26. *Ab altero;* Pyrrhus.

70. 27. *Alterum;* Hannibal.

SEC. IX. Friendship has its origin in nature, and not in necessity.

71. 4. *Moveantur:* "are inspired with mutual affection."

71. 5. *Usu:* "by intimacy."

71. 7. *Studio perspecto et consuetudine adjunctâ:* "by evident zeal for our service, and by near intercourse."

71. 17. *Minimum;* sc. *virtutis et probitatis.*

72. 19. *Et usu ejus et moribus fruantur:* "that they may enjoy the benefit both of his intimacy and good character."

SEC. X. Friendship liable to be broken at all periods of life. Causes of divisions.

73. 19. *Unâ cum prætextâ;* the robe assumed until seventeen years of age.

73. 21. *Contentione vel uxoriæ conditionis:* "from rivalship, either in a matrimonial pursuit," &c.

74. 5. *Non rectum:* "not consistent with honor."

74. 15. *Ut . . . . videri:* "that he (Scipio) said it appeared to him that to escape all these, required not only good sense, but good fortune also."

SEC. XI. What friends can demand of each other, and what refuse.

74. 19. *Quâtenus . . . . debeat:* "how far the claims of friendship may reasonably extend."

74. 22. *Viscellinum;* a surname of Sp. Cassius.

75. 8. *Quam nefaria vox:* "how infamous a confession."

75. 9. *Non . . . . præfuit:* "for he not only acceded to the seditious schemes of Ti. Gracchûs, but took the lead in them."

75. 12. *Quæstione novâ perterritus:* "alarmed at the appointment of extraordinary judges for his trial." The ordinary judges were the prætors; but in delinquencies against which no particular law had provided, as in the present instance, the charge was delegated to special judges.

75. 14. *Pœnas graves justasque.* He lost his life, and thus paid the penalty of his seditious attempts.

75. 26. *Ad sapientiam:* "to perfection;" that is, who have most faithfully performed all moral obligations.

SEC. XII. Friendship with men who become bad citizens should be dissolved. The evils which combinations of unprincipled men bring upon the republic. Themistocles.

76. 23. *Deflexit enim . . . . majorum:* "for we have already somewhat deviated from the political course marked out by our ancestors." *Cursum* is understood to *deflexit.*

77. 3. *Nam carbonem . . . . sustinuimus:* "in consideration of the recent punishment of Tiberius Gracchus," [he was assassinated in the midst of his adherents by P. S. Nasica,] "I protected his friend Carbo as far as it was in my power;" that is, from the senatorial vengeance which pursued Tiberius Gracchus and all his adherents with such implacable fury.

77. 8. *In tabellâ.* By this law the people gave their votes in the assemblies, not "*vivâ voce,*" as formerly, but by writing upon tablets the name of the person whom they wished to have elected. By this method, the suffrages were absolutely free; the voters having no cause to fear the influence of the rich and powerful. Cicero disapproved of this law, because he believed it would surrender the affairs of the country to the caprice of the multitude.

77. 12. *Plures enim discent;* because bad examples are more willingly followed than good ones.

77. 13. *Quemadmodum hæc fiant;* that is, by what means the favor of the people may be obtained, and hostility between them and the senate effected.

77. 26. *Ingratæ . . . . debuit:* "did not bear tho injury inflicted on him by his ungrateful country with the submission he ought." Themistocles, for the reasons assigned in the text, being sentenced to banishment by that singular but well-known institution among the Athenians, called *ostracism*, entered into the service of Artaxerxes, whose formidable armaments against the Grecian states he had some years before totally overthrown at the famous battle of Salamis. Although Cicero positively asserts that both Themistocles and Coriolanus destroyed themselves by their own hands, yet the disagreement of historians upon these points has left the facts altogether uncertain.

78. 7. *Quod . . . . futurum sit:* "judging from the signs of the times, I am not certain that this outrage (i. e. *taking up arms against one's country under the plea of friendship*) may not, at some future period, be committed." An allusion is evidently intended here to the partisans of Julius Cæsar.

Sec. XIII. Some opinions on the subject of friendship to be rejected. Egotism inconsistent with true friendship.

78\. 22. *Mirabilia quædam;* opinions of the Stoics, Academics, and Epicureans.

79\. 3. *Caput . . . . securitatem:* "that exemption from care was the most essential ingredient in human happiness."

79\. 6. *Multo inhumanius:* "with still more illiberality."

80\. 4. *Animi dolor:* "sensibility."

80\. 12. *Virtutem . . . . volunt;* as the Stoics, who think a wise man should have no sympathy for the misfortunes of others.

80\. 15. *Ut et bonis amici quasi diffundantur,* (sc. *lætitiâ,*) *et incommodis contrahantur;* sc. *mærore.* The nominative is implied in *virtus.* "The hearts of the virtuous expand with joy at the prosperity of a friend, and shrink with sorrow at his adversity." A similar application of the verb *diffundo* may be found in Ovid. Metam. iv. 388.

> "Postquam epulis functi generosi munere Bacchi
> Diffudêre animos."

In some editions we find *diffundatur* and *contrahatur.*

Sec. XIV. The source of true friendship may be found in a conformity of habits.

80\. 26. *Inanibus:* "unprofitable;" that is, which can render a man neither better nor happier.

81\. 8. *Similitudo;* that is, a similarity of dispositions, habits, and pursuits.

81\. 10. *Adsciscantque sibi:* "seek an intimate acquaintance with them."

81\. 19. *Quæ . . . . abhorreret.* Melmoth thinks that Cicero refers in this passage to a custom which prevailed in Rome, by which the general, whose arms had made any new acquisition of territory to the republic, was the declared patron of those people whom he had subdued. These were afterwards considered as the hereditary clients of his family, to the head of which they constantly had recourse, as their standing advocate, in all those causes of a national concern which they had occasion to plead before the senate.

82\. 5. *Nihil . . . . amicis:* "that our friends should have no wants to which we may administer."

Sec. XV. Nothing more valuable than friendship: fortune often a bar to fidelity in it.

82\. 11. *Nec usu nec ratione:* "neither by experience," (for they can neither love nor be loved sincerely,) "nor by instruction."

82\. 19. *Suspecta atque sollicita.* It is said of Dionysius of Syracuse, that he would not admit his wife or children to his apartment, without a previous examination of their garments; nor would he suffer even his children to trim his beard, so suspicious had he become on account of the hatred the people manifested of his tyranny.

82\. 22. *Simulatione:* "under the semblance of personal attachment."

83. 2. *Illâ superbiâ et importunitate:* "with a temper so insolent and ferocious." *Quemquam:* "any faithful friend."

83. 8. *Fastidio et contumaciâ:* "an arrogant and supercilious demeanor."

83. 9. *Insipiente fortunato:* "than a prosperous fool."

83. 21. *Ejus enim . . . . viribus.* When Crœsus showed Solon his riches, the latter told him that whoever should come with better iron would soon be master of his gold.

Sec. XVI. Certain limits to be established in our friendship: three opinions upon this subject.

84. 23. *Ad calculos vocare amicitiam:* "to make a mercantile account of friendship."

85. 19. *Impuri:* "sordid."

Sec. XVII. Rules to guide us in the choice of friends, and in our conduct towards them. Means of proving the sincerity of their friendship.

86. 10. *Emendati:* "correct;" that is, free from those vices which are hostile to friendship, such as treachery, levity, avarice, ambition, and the like.

86. 15. *Agatur:* "may be at stake."

86. 15. *Declinandum sit de viâ;* sc. *recti.* In his treatises on moral duties, Cicero mentions two cases only in which this course can be justified; these are where a man is called upon to act either as a judge or advocate in the cause of his friend. "If it should

come before him in his judicial capacity," says Cicero, "he is no longer to consider himself in the character of a *friend*, but of a magistrate, who is solemnly sworn to give sentence according to evidence; and the only favor he can justifiably show, is to appoint the trial, in consequence of the discretionary power with which he is invested by the laws, at the time which may be most convenient to his friend. But when he appears as an advocate, he is under much less restraint. He may support the cause of his friend, provided his crime be not of a very atrocious nature, without any impeachment of his own integrity; and in this he acts agreeably, not only to the general practice and expectation of the world, but to the common dictates of humanity. The judge, indeed, must strictly and invariably be governed by truth, as far as he can discover it, in every question that comes before him; but the advocate may be permitted to give a plausible coloring to the fact in charge, and place it in the most advantageous, though it should not be in its proper light. And this is a doctrine," continues Cicero, "which I would not venture to advance, especially in a treatise on ethics, if I were not supported in it by the authority of Panætius, one of the most judicious and respectable writers among the Stoic philosophers." Cicero acted agreeably to this doctrine in his defence of Milo, as he knew it was Milo's intention to kill Clodius, if he met him on his way to Lanuvium.

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"I rejoice to perceive that your efforts are continued in this most important field of literary labor. Few works need judicious notes more than this one, (Cicero de Oratore ;) and for want of them and in consequence of the very inferior editions which have been published in this country heretofore, I believe it has been read much less than it deserves. I have no doubt that it will supersede all the other forms in which this treatise has been presented to the public, and I shall feel it my duty to recommend it whenever it may be in my power."

From the Annals of Education. By Prof. E. A. Andrews.

"Among the philosophical writings of Cicero, there are probably none so generally read, or so justly admired, as his treatises on Old Age and Friendship; and it is remarkable that, until the present time, no good edition of these works has issued from the American press. The only distinct edition of these essays which has been published for many years in England, so far as we are informed, is that of E. H. Barker, which, though abounding, like the other works of the same editor, in evidences of extensive research and profound scholarship, is not well adapted to the use of the common classical student. It is therefore with peculiar satisfaction that we welcome this edition, enriched as it is by the editorial labors of Mr. Dillaway."

From the Christian Register.

"We have given to the present work (De Senectute et de Amicitia) some examination, and cannot refrain from expressing high approbation of the manner in which the editor has performed his important task. The most difficult part of his labor was the preparation of the Notes. This he has executed with great skill, accuracy, and judgment. . . . . Mr. Dillaway is particularly well fitted for the work he has undertaken, having had ample experience as instructor in the first classical school in our country."

From the Christian Review.

"This is a very neat edition of Cicero's treatise De Officiis. The text is printed in a clear, handsome type, leaded, and so divided into sections and marked with figures along the margin, as to make the book convenient for recitations. The English notes of the editor appear to be correct and judicious, affording just the kind of aid which the students need, without encumbering them with help. The same editor has published similar editions of Cicero's book De Oratore, and of the beautiful little essays De Senectute et de Amicitia. . . . . These books are evidences of a widely-spread taste for classical learning, and they are well adapted to foster it. Believing that a judicious study of the classics is a valuable means of mental discipline, and is capable, under the direction of a wise teacher, of being made an instrument of moral instruction, we look with pleasure on every indication of a growing love for the study."

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